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## Near East/South Asia Report

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17 April 1984

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## ALGERIA

### BENDJEDID'S QUIET REVOLUTION ASSESSED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 44, 11 Feb 84 pp 41-46

[Article: "The Man of the Quiet Revolution"]

[Text] "The president who refused the presidency"--This expression circulated among those who attended and followed the activities of the Palestinian National Council session held in Algeria in February 1983, after Chadli Bendjedid adamantly refused to sit on the president's dais on the opening day of the council session. He preferred to sit among the guests. On 9 February this year, the fifth anniversary of Chadli Bendjedid's assumption of the duties of the presidency of the Algerian state was celebrated. During these 5 years, Algeria has witnessed gradual, quiet changes. Through them, Chadli Bendjedid has come to deserve to be described as "the man of the quiet revolution" that is realizing its own style in the administration of the state, without harming its predecessors. In this corner of the Leadership section, we review the features of the Algerian president's personality and the characteristics of his experience in power. In addition, we will display rare pictures published only by AL-TADAMUN.

On 9 February this year, Algeria celebrated the fifth anniversary of the assumption of the presidency by Chadli Bendjedid. He succeeded Houari Boumediene, who passed away on 27 December 1978 at the height of his strength and activity. This was the first constitutional transfer of power known by independent Algeria since 5 July 1962. Those with a precise knowledge of the Algerian situation and the burden of the legacy left by 132 years of imperialism, colonization, revolutions, oppression campaigns, and extermination realize the meaning of these developments. In only 20 years, Algeria has changed from a colony attached to the "motherland," as the French used to say, into a powerful state with firm foundations. It does not have a leading position in the Arab nation alone. Rather, it also occupies such a station in Africa, the Third World, and among the non-aligned countries. The transfer of power in a country like this, which sacrificed more than 1 million martyrs for its freedom and independence, cannot be a normal political event. Algeria's was not merely the first armed, popular revolution to achieve victory in the Third World. Rather, Algeria was and still is a pioneering country in the process of economic and social development. It has taken rapid steps to make up for all the lost time. Consequently, it confronts at the same time the heavy legacy of the past, the great problems of the present,

and the ambitious dreams of the future. The current stage is rendered more difficult by the fact that Houari Boumediene neither appointed a successor nor prepared a particular person to take his place in emergencies. He used to sit at the top of the pyramid and depend on the powerful institutions he built up over a reign lasting more than 13 years, from 1965 till 1978. Indeed, due to the circumstances of rapid development, some of those institutions turned into basic centers of political and economic decision-making. This is what happened in the case of the economic institution and its spinal column, the SONATRACH company, which was headed by Belaid Abdelsalam. It also happened in the case of the security institution, which was placed under the supervision of Kasdi Merbah, and in the case of the political institution as well, where former Foreign Minister Bouteflika used to play a prominent role.

#### The Oldest Soldier With the Highest Rank

Just as fate surprised Houari Boumediene, so power came as a surprise to Chadli Bendjedid. This quiet soldier, who had been responsible for the region of Western Algeria (Oran) for the previous 10 years, was close to the masses of this region, despite his military role. They gave him in jest the nickname of "ruler of Oran."

Overnight, only 3 days after the passing of Boumediene, on the last day of 1978, Bendjedid gathered around himself 500 officers from the most important staffs in the army. They promised to stick to the course and preserve the safety of the country. When the details of those historic days are made known, those who follow developments in Algerian affairs will realize the decisive importance of Chadli Bendjedid's initiative. He stymied all those fishing in muddy waters and caused authority to be transferred in accordance with constitutional principles for the first time in Algeria's modern history. The fourth congress of the National Liberation Front Party, which was held from 27 to 31 January 1979, blessed the rallying of the party around Bendjedid, after the army had already rallied around him. Thus, the congress concluded by electing Chadli Bendjedid its general secretary and candidate for presidency of the republic. The elections were held on 7 February 1979, and Chadli Bendjedid took the constitutional oath on 9 February, thereby assuming the duties of his office as president of the republic. He was reelected to a second term a few days ago.

#### Who Is Chadli?

Chadli Bendjedid is a child of eastern Algeria. To be precise, he comes from the village of Bouteldja, in the governorate of Annaba. He comes from a peasant family (on 14 April, he will celebrate his 55th birthday). Bendjedid was closely associated with the Algerian revolution from the first day on which it broke out, in the beginning of November 1954. He was a member of the special organization O.S. that linked the political struggle with armed struggle. At the start of 1955, he joined the ranks of the liberation army. He steadily promoted from 1956 to 1958, when he was made responsible for a military region and was given the rank of captain.

In February 1955, he became a member of the first general staff of the National Liberation Army, which was formed by Boumediene. He was one of the officials in charge of operations in the northern region. He stayed in this post until the country became independent. In the first year of independence, 1962, he was promoted to commandant. He became responsible for the fifth military region, before being transferred in 1964 to the western part of the country--the region of Oran. There he played a fundamental role in building and developing the armed forces. He was a member of the Revolutionary Command Council, which ousted Ben Bella on 19 June 1965.

When he was promoted once again to the rank of colonel in 1969, he won the nickname that was henceforth linked with his name: "the oldest soldier with the highest rank."

#### Closeness to the People

Moreover, Chadli Bendjedid, who was far from the limelight until 7 February 1979, when he was elected, quickly turned into a figure beloved by the masses in a country in which the emotional relationship between the ruler and the people acquires special importance. His appearance on the small screen in the first months of his term was an occasion missed by no one. This was not merely because his white hair gave him a fatherly air, but because he spoke to his people in a simple and direct manner devoid of all artificiality and acting.

It is known that Chadli Bendjedid is a quiet, patient man who is not quickly aroused. Perhaps it is useful to note here that diving is one of his beloved hobbies. As for Boumediene, his favorite hobby was playing chess.

Important achievements are attributed to Chadli Bendjedid, and we shall review them below. However, there is no harm in summarizing them in a few, brief points before going over them in detail:

First of all, he respects continuity in the political line. It is useful to note here that the countries of the Third World have always been plagued by the opposite. The successor wipes out all traces of his predecessor, including both his positive and his negative achievements. This has not happened with Chadli Bendjedid, who has suggested more than once that the name Boumediene should be made immortal. This has been accomplished by giving the name to the capital's airport, the University of Algeria, and other institutions.

Secondly, while maintaining the general line, he reviews achievements, rectifies methods of application, reorganizes institutions that have become so inflated that it is difficult to control them and impossible to monitor them.

Thirdly, he carefully makes sure that each institution plays its role within the limits of the law.



Fourthly, he is clarifying the concept of integration between the agencies of the party and those of the state.

These are the headings of important achievements realized by Chadli Bendjedid since assuming the responsibility of the presidency of the state. Now we will follow in somewhat more detail the scenario of Chadli Bendjedid's actions inside and outside Algeria.

#### Concerning Domestic Policy

The first conclusion one can draw from the past stage is that Chadli Bendjedid has demonstrated, in a manner that leaves no room for doubt, that he is no longer the man of the transitional stage, as most observers thought he was. It is true that he was chosen by the fourth congress of the National Liberation Front Party in 1979 because he was considered the highest ranking officer in the army. Moreover, he had played the role of coordinator in the army during Boumediene's period of unconsciousness and absence. Thus, he prevented any clashes that might have occurred as a result of the struggle to fill the gap left by the late President Houari Boumediene. However, it is certain that in the past few years he has been able to demonstrate great skill at plucking thorns, choosing advisors, preserving the balance within the huge, young state, and assuring the circumstances required for his reelection, without being forced to undertake any coercive or coup-like activity. Instead, he has been able to bring about great changes in the institutions of the party, the army, and the state, while simultaneously maintaining continuity in numerous basic areas. This is particularly true of the regime's ideological-informational rhetoric.

The choice of Chadli Bendjedid as the successor to Houari Boumediene was the result of numerous factors. The most important one was that all the government factions accepted him at that time, since he was not considered to be a party to any dispute. Moreover, he was not considered a claimant to the succession. Perhaps some accepted him then because they believed that it would be extremely easy to go past him later and that he would stay only through the transition period, which might not even last the legally mandated length of time. These persons have fallen victim to their incorrect calculations. This is especially true of Abdelaziz Bouteflika and Colonel Mohamed Saleh Yahiaoui.

As for the choice of Chadli Bendjedid as his own successor, this was the result of factors of another kind, which he personally prepared and arranged, along with his assistants and advisors. As a result, he is no longer anyone's partner in the government. This fact was attested to by the very large picture that occupied a prominent place in the Olympic complex where the fifth congress of the party was held in the second half of last December.

Chadli Bendjedid succeeded because his partners erred. Therefore, their removal produced no reaction in either the broad streets or the institutions of the state and the government. Rather, it was accepted with a different feeling, one of satisfaction. Concerning this point, that is, the relationship between Chadli Bendjedid and the streets, one can say that the president

has succeeded from the beginning in entering the hearts of Algerians before entering their minds. This was not any easy thing to do. Before him, Boumediene's popularity was the result of 15 years of work and development. The most important aspect of the matter is that he overcame difficult obstacles with the weapon of simplicity. Others held this weapon in low esteem and did not take it into account. Chadli Bendjedid has not resorted to making matters more complex, or to demagogic comparisons, promises, or the agencies, and he did not carry out a coup, as al-Sadat did on 15 May 1971. Instead, he gradually reorganized his house from the inside in accordance with its own laws, without arbitrariness and without going beyond its schedule.

It was not he who closed the National Council of the Command of the Revolution [as published], but the constitution and the path approved and scheduled by Boumediene. This happened in a manner that gave President Bendjedid an opportunity to free himself from a burden that could have lasted a long time. That was the beginning of the road and its key. Algeria matured and became a state of institutions. The only thing left of the legality of 19 June 1965 is the legitimacy inherent in the continuation of the general political line. Thus, only two members of the National Council of the Leadership of the Revolution, of which Bendjedid was a member, stayed in power: Colonel Abdellah Belhouichet, the deputy minister of defense and the general inspector of the army, and Colonel Mohamed Benahmed, known as Abdelghani, who was recently removed from the prime ministership. As for the others--Bouteflika, Yahiaoui, Tayebi Larbi, Ahmed Bencherif, and Ahmed Draia, they are now outside the central committee of the party. Most of them are being punished according to law, following the rulings issued by the audit council that dealt with their cases. The exception is provided by Yahiaoui and Draia, who are expected to come before the council soon. Of course, until the period before the congress, it had not been shown that Yahiaoui took any sums of money. This was shown with respect to Bouteflika, Tayebi Larbi, and Bencherif.

In other words, Chadli Bendjedid has preserved political Boumedienism without its symbols and well known figures. He has done this in stages and has acted on many levels, the most important being the party, the army, the security agencies, and the economic mechanism.

In the party, he has sought the aid of Mohamed Cherif Messaadia, who was an officer with the rank of lieutenant colonel in the National Liberation Army before leaving it in 1962 to devote himself to working in the party. He continued to hold the post of an information guidance official in the party organization. This post became the first one after the removal of Cherif Belqasem and Caid Ahmed. Then Boumediene chose Colonel Yahiaoui to supervise the preparation of the fourth party congress. Messaadia came into conflict with him and was removed, only to be appointed minister for veterans. He had previously rejected any position outside the party, and when it was offered to him, he told Boumediene, "You know that I held the rank of lieutenant colonel in 1962. If I had been a colonel, I would have become a member of the Council of the Revolution with you. I left the army for party work because I love it. I will either do it or be outside of the government."

As for the second power center Chadli Bendjedid confronted, it consisted of the security agencies, especially military security, which was administered by Lt Col Kasdi Merbah (his real name is Abdallah Khalef). He later became a colonel. In the last years of Boumediene's life, this agency came to play a large role in the daily and public life of the citizenry. It left the other security agencies far behind, especially in the area of preparing adequate files on all officials and personalities inside and outside the government.

At the beginning of Bendjedid's rule, he moved Kasdi Merbah to an administrative post in the Ministry of Defense. He then moved him to the Ministry of Planning. (He has now become minister of agriculture and a full member of the political office.) Then a broad campaign of changes was carried out in the ranks of this agency. It was accompanied by an organized, intense propaganda campaign against the oppressive presence of military security in the daily life of the people. At that time, it was said that President Chadli Bendjedid had ordered military security's personnel to return to their barracks and had stopped their activity outside them. Gradually, these agencies were cleansed of uncertain elements and fell into step with the new character of the government and its basic orientations and personalities.

As for the security agency and the national police, the centers of power in both were liquidated, following the removal from them of Colonel Ahmed and Colonel Draia, as well as Col Ahmed Bencherif. This was done in an advanced stage of the government of Chadli Bendjedid. The interesting thing about the matter is that many of the Arab media recently reported the news of Ahmed Draia's removal from the party's central committee by saying that he had been removed from the security administration. Moreover, they reported that it amounted to the removal of the leftist, radical, and even Marxist wing. It is interesting that Draia had been removed years ago from the security administration and appointed to a civilian post, so that his place could be taken by Colonel El Hadi Kheidiri. In addition, Draia never represented any ideological wing, no matter what its color, especially the left wing.

The third center of gravity lay in the economic mechanism, where the huge industrial and petroleum investments were concentrated. Thus, some institutions became states in and of themselves. We will not go into the details of the economic situation and economic policy Bendjedid has followed, since we will devote a separate analysis to that. However, we can say that he moved first to oust the former "maestro" of the economy, Abdelsalam Belaid, from the Ministry of Energy. Then he ousted him from the Ministry of Industry. Secondly, he subdivided the giant institutions so as to facilitate the matter of their control and supervision. Previously, they had not been subject to the control of the Ministry of Finance. This action was the counterpart to eliminating the second point of focus in the government, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

#### On Foreign Policy

Since Algeria achieved its freedom and independence, its diplomacy has only known three foreign ministers. This reflects the state of stability and

steadiness the country has experienced. But despite the continuity and uniformity of the informational language used by Algerian diplomacy in the era of Chadli Bendjedid, essential changes have occurred in the country's diplomatic style and instruments and sometimes its subjects. Some of these reflect the changes that have occurred in the country's general domestic policy, while others reflect the personal style of Chadli Bendjedid and his way of conducting the government.

If we want to find ways to name the characteristics of Bendjedid's diplomacy, we must use words like presence, openness, dynamism, moderation, and caution. If we want to arrange them in order, openness and moderation head the list, since Algerian diplomacy has been characterized by presence, dynamism, and balance since the beginning of the 1970's. It has only rarely leaned toward nervous or direct reactions, even with respect to the tense relations it has had with more than one party. Therefore, it has not deviated in either the era of Boumediene or of Chadli Bendjedid from the well known principle that sees in effective and active diplomacy a reflection of domestic policy. This is true not merely because diplomacy meets the needs of the domestic situation, but because it employs the givens of the internal situation in the practice of external activity as well.

One can say that the mature character of Algerian diplomacy really began to emerge at the beginning of the 1970's, when it was freed from some of the rhetorical twitches it experienced in the 1960's. It found its realistic keys without abandoning its ethical reserve, which it had inherited from the liberating revolution, with all its values and principles.

The effectiveness of this diplomacy was shown in the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, when Boumediene was able to convince the Soviets to resume shipping arms to Egypt, after making a lightning visit to Moscow. Its effectiveness was demonstrated again by Algeria's success in concluding the Iraqi-Iranian agreement in Algeria, and yet again in the solution to the problem of the hostages from the American embassy in Tehran. Algeria's effective diplomacy has also been displayed via its chairmanship of the non-aligned movement and the Organization of African Unity, as well as by its role in the administration of the sessions of the North-South dialogue.

Internally, the stage of the 1970's was characterized by the completion of the country's economic, administrative, and educational institutions, as well as by the heavy industrialization plan. Externally, it was characterized by the petroleum boom following the October War of 1973 and by the increasing strategic and tactical importance of energy in the international arena.

Houari Boumediene realized the importance and sensitivity of the areas of development and energy with respect to foreign policy, both in positive and negative terms, and he perceived that instruments of pressure could be held by the states with which one dealt and be used against the states that produced energy.

This realization produced the balanced Algerian diplomatic equation. Algeria is still striking a balance based on the distinction between slogans, principles and political ideology, on the one hand, and purely commercial relations. Just as there are no barriers in trade, so there are none in modern diplomacy, which has become first and foremost a commercial web.

Algerian diplomacy has become effective on the basis of this concept and this equation. It established commercial arrangements with the West, especially with the United States, via the famous El Paso agreements for the sale of gas. Algeria also has such ties to West Germany, Italy and Japan. At the same time, it has political friendships with the countries of the East Bloc and those Third World regimes known for their progressive character. The one set of relations has not influenced the other in a negative fashion. Rather, cooperation with Washington has reinforced Algeria's position vis-a-vis Moscow, and its friendship with Moscow has reinforced its position vis-a-vis Washington. All this is part of a vital and continuing tactic.

Algeria has more clearly maintained a revolutionary, radical political language opposed to American imperialism. This has not prevented it from cooperating commercially with America. The same is true with respect to the industrialization plan. Algeria has made purchases at different times from Japan, Rumania, Italy, West Germany, Bulgaria and other countries. Its only criterion has been commercial advantage.

#### Moving Away From France

Perhaps the point of weakness and strength, or, to be more precise, the complex of weakness and strength that is behind this orientation and sometimes transcends commercial considerations is Algeria's absolute desire to be economically and administratively independent of France. Thus, the government started to encourage the teaching of the English language in a broad-based fashion at the expense of the French language at the beginning and in the middle of the 1970's, after the crises of emigration and alcoholic beverages worsened.

This indicates that the great reserve of Algerian diplomacy, which President Chadli Bendjedid inherited, has not been free of problems. Neither has it arrived on a carpet of roses. Rather, perhaps because of its magnitude, it was full of thorns, and sometimes of mines. The country's relationship with the West was very tense. Its ties to Egypt had been cut, and those to Iraq were cold. Its ties to some Gulf states were moribund. Even the commercial agreement with America reached an impasse as soon as Chadli Bendjedid took power, since the American Congress refused to agree to some of its articles and clauses.

The first task faced by President Chadli Bendjedid in this area was semi-technical. He had to maintain the continuity of Algerian diplomacy's coherence after the removal of its effective, capable master, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, who had headed the Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for almost 20 years. In addition to his undoubted qualifications, he knew all the files and held all the keys to them.

President Bendjedid overcame this obstacle successfully when he chose Mohamed Sadeq Benyahia to succeed Bouteflika, since the former was without question the most important government technocrat. He was a man of proven ability, and though he was not more capable than his predecessor, neither was he less so. Among Benyahia's accomplishments were the obtaining of the best possible conditions in the treaty with France, which he signed in the era of Giscard D'Estaing, and the solution of the hostage crisis in Tehran. It is said that he had achieved concrete progress in his attempt to mediate between Iraq and Iran, before he fell victim to this war. His plane was hit by a rocket over Turkey and Iran and crashed. On that occasion, President Chadli Bendjedid announced that the preparation of a file on the circumstances of Benyahia's death had been completed. He promised to publish it, but did not set a date for that.

However, before Benyahia died and after the wreck of his first airplane in Africa, from which he escaped by a miracle, the Algerian president gradually began to transfer many sensitive files to the Presidency of the Republic. He began to assign several Arab and African issues to some of his advisors, and he started to send them on missions as his personal envoys, in particular to the Arab East. One of these envoys was Lakhdar Brahimi, the former ambassador to Cairo and London, who was later removed and investigated with respect to some financial matters having to do with the period of his residence in London. Others were Abdelhamid Mehdi, Abdelkaader Benkaci, etc. It was as if President Bendjedid hoped to annul the centralization that Bouteflika had created in his ministry and around himself.

Bendjedid's diplomacy succeeded in defusing Algeria's relations with the West, France, Tunisia, and Iraq and in ending the state of lassitude in its ties to some other states. This was part of a moderate, open approach different from that of his predecessor. Of course, circumstances aided him, at least with respect to relations with France, since Francois Mitterand came to power a little after Bendjedid did. Mitterand saw in the relationship with Algeria a model that he could present as an image of cooperation between France and the states of the Third World. In truth, the French middle class had begun to launch a campaign against Giscard D'Estaing because of his incitement against the Algerian regime, which had caused the French market to lose scores of giant development projects and billions of francs.

#### Problems and Solutions

Moreover, especially after Bendjedid became president, the Algerian government began to discover how costly and expensive its stance of boycotting France was, given France's geographical proximity and the ease of doing business with it because of the language factor. On the level of this relationship between the colonizing country and the former colony, many issues had been waiting for a solution since independence. Examples were the issue of the emigre and migrant workers, the Algerian state documents located in France, Algerian gas, the possessions of Frenchmen in Algeria, etc.

In summing up this area, one can say that Chadli Bendjedid succeeded in obtaining from the French socialist government most of what his country was demanding. In particular, the price of gas was linked to that of oil. He also got the French to take a political position on the Saharan question that changed the balance of forces diplomatically.

It is true that France did not tilt toward Algeria officially and in a manner that would have embodied what the Socialist Party used to say when it was in the opposition. However, the neutrality Paris adopted was in Algeria's favor in the last analysis, since France originally supported the Moroccan point of view.

Relations between Morocco and Algeria were improved in this contest. King Hasan II and President Chadli Bendjedid held a historic meeting, although it has so far not produced the great results that were hoped for. It was hoped that a peaceful solution could be found to the Saharan war. The past few months have witnessed a return to media escalation in the Moroccan and Algerian press, and the two parties have resurrected their old excuses in more zealous and intransigent forms.

At the recent congress of the National Liberation Front Party, the need to build the Arab Maghreb was affirmed. However, two points were confirmed. The first was the unity of the peoples. Despite the soundness of this slogan, it seemed to contain some opposition of an undefined degree to the unity of the regimes or a mutual understanding among them. In the second point, President Chadli Bendjedid reaffirmed his rejection of the establishment of unity for the Arab Maghreb "on the corpses of the sons of the Saharan people," as he put it.

Whatever the case may be, Algerian officials are eager to avoid injuring or publicly and officially defaming the Moroccan government or, as they say, their Moroccan brothers. It seems that both sides are convinced that it is possible to contrive this solution in favor of the Arab Maghreb, assuming that time does its work by doing away with accumulated sensitivities and causing the slogans shouted by both sides to fade.

As for the treaty of brotherhood and cooperation which was signed by Chadli Bendjedid and Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba and to which Mauritania was added, it is considered the most important Algerian diplomatic achievement during the last 3 years.

#### Algeria and the Palestinian Issue

We must still review the position taken by Bendjedid's diplomacy vis-a-vis the Steadfastness and Resistance front and the PLO. Algerian officials have begun to act as if this front no longer exists. Indeed, they affirm this, since they believe that the beginning of its end came with the Israeli invasion in Lebanon and the expulsion of the Palestinian resistance from Beirut. Therefore, Algeria has absolutely opposed holding a summit of the countries in the front and has rejected any discussion of this possibility.

Considering Algeria's recent position on the events in Tripoli and Yasir 'Arafat, relative and noticeable stagnation has come to characterize its relationship with Damascus these days, despite the fact that the Syrian--Algerian relationship is a historic and strong one that has overcome all the storms and obstacles that have confronted it up until now.

This position of Algeria's can be considered a natural extension of its previous stands, which have been predicated on its complete support of the independence of the Palestinian revolution. Algeria considers this an essential matter and a lesson garnered from its own experience, while others see in it the basis of the moderation that President Bendjedid has introduced into Algerian diplomacy. This moderation has expressed itself by a warming in the country's relations with other Arab countries as well, including some Gulf countries. As one of President Bendjedid's advisors put it, this moderation is based on the fact that Algerians are patriots first, inhabitants of the Maghreb second, Arabs third, Africans fourth, and progressives fifth.

Finally, reference must be made to Algerian mediation in the Gulf War. With the absence of any new givens, Algeria hopes to play a positive role in this area. It is said that this hope is preventing the publication of the complete report concerning the truth about the downing of the Algerian airplane, in which former Foreign Minister Mohamed Sadeq Benyahia was killed.

12224

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SLP'S MURAD COMMENTS ON ELECTORAL PROCESS

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 7 Feb 84 p 5

[Article by Muhammad Hilmi Murad: "Need to Close Electoral Loopholes"]

[Text] AL-AHRAM newspaper said that the Ministry of the Interior is preparing a special election campaign decree to replace the one issued for the 1979 elections during the tenure of Nabawl Isma'il in implementation of Law No 23 of 1974 passed by former president al-Sadat which imposed campaign restrictions, including, for the first time, commitment to the principles approved by the 20 April 1979 general referendum and those contained in the law protecting the internal front and social peace, ways and means of regulating election campaigns, and the ceiling on campaign spending, in accordance with rules and regulations by the interior ministry.

How Will the Resolution Restricting Election Campaigns Be Amended?

This decree, issued by former interior minister Nabawl Isma'il for the 1979 election campaign, stirred up so much resentment and aversion at the time--as an instrument of pressure and intervention in the general elections--that a national newspaper, AL-AHRAM, felt compelled to conduct an interview with the minister who issued this decision. The interview was published on 11 May 1979, and dealt with questions on the minds of citizens, some of which we will enumerate here as an example of how defective the decision was.

-Why a law regulating election campaigns this time? Will it not evoke skepticism?

-Why report to the police the names of campaign staffers before the campaign starts? Is it not a kind of intimidation?

-Why a mandatory permit from security agencies before the candidate meets constituents? Does it smack of pressure?

-What can the candidate talk about when he is banned from tackling many topics under the election campaign law?

Regarding the ceiling on campaign spending, the ministerial decision set it at 500 Egyptian pounds and obligated the candidate to inform the interior ministry within a week of the elections of the campaign tactics employed and

the money spent in this regard, including who received the money and supporting documents. The interior ministry reports all this to the People's Assembly. Violation of this restriction is an electoral crime that can lead to revocation of political rights, that is, abrogation of People's Assembly membership and other penalties!

We hope that the planned amendment of the decision concerning elections campaigns will be oriented towards freedom of speech and expression and contact between the candidates and the public in accordance with democratic precepts and constitutional provisions, and not toward muzzling voters and intimidating opposition parties and their aides and supporters so that the amendment will be consistent with interior ministry statements about the elections' honesty and impartiality.

#### Possibility of Closing Many Loopholes

This matter, however, is not limited to the special decision on election campaigns, but extends to all other ministerial decisions issued in implementation of the exercise of political rights law No 73 of 1956, which stipulates in the last article that the interior ministry shall be vested with the power to issue its implementing regulations.

Thereupon, this law's implementing regulations and all the various related ministerial decisions and administrative directives must undergo a comprehensive review to ascertain their conformance with sound constitutional principles and to add to them election guarantees demanded by the opposition, such as getting voters' signatures or fingerprints at the polls and showing a personal or family ID, and to assure their compliance with legal amendments such as the one that said that a candidate's delegate in the sub-committee does not have to be on his committee's voter records but is enough to be registered in the records of the entire electoral district. (Article 24, paragraph 3 of the law regulating the exercise of political rights, as amended by Law No 23 of 1972.)

#### Need to Transfer Sub-Committees from Companies and Factories

Whereas the bill is intent on not allowing political party committees in companies, factories and other electoral units, sub-committee headquarters must not be established in such units, particularly since some candidates may be employed by them and some voters' polling places may be at their place of work inside these units, thus rendering the presence of ballot boxes under the units' aegis incompatible with neutrality and equal opportunity that must be afforded to all candidates.

#### Need to Implement Regulations for New Electoral Law

Moreover, electoral guidelines, resolutions and by-laws must be reviewed in light of changes introduced to the People's Assembly electoral process, which now follows the party slate system of proportional representation rather than the individual system, so that their provision may be compatible with the new electoral system.

Law No 114 of 1983, amending People's Assembly law of mandatory, proportional slates, for example, allocated 31 seats for women in 31 out of 48 electoral districts without specifying how their election would be guaranteed, as their names may be at the bottom of the party slates in some districts, thus missing their turn when votes are proportionally distributed over the slates. Hence, it was necessary to draw up special electoral regulations for these seats, as was the case when Law No 22 of 1979 allocated seats for women and the interior minister issued decision No 932 for 1979, regarding candidacy and election regulations for women representatives.

This matter requires the issuance of a new electoral decision governing women's seats in electoral districts on the basis of the slate system--while conceding that such allocation is unconstitutional because it is in violation of Article No 40 of the Constitution which stipulates that all citizens are equal under the law without any discrimination on the basis of sex, origin, language, religion or creed.

However, it seems that this matter requires more than a ministerial decision. It needs legislation amending the existing law because it cannot be imagined that a vast electoral district, comprising 5 or 6 individual districts or an entire huge governorate like Kafr al-Shaykh, will have one member from the judiciary chairing the general committee in this vast electoral district.

This also calls for a review of the candidacy guarantee ~~Fee~~ every single candidate is required to put up whereas parties submit slates. It is inconceivable that every single individual on the slates, that include the total number of candidates to be elected and an equal number of stand-bys, will be required to put up a money guarantee, keeping in mind that he may not get one turn during the constitutional term of the next People's Assembly. Likewise, there is no cause to burden the parties with these guarantees in an upcoming election campaign that requires much money. Instead, the government must lighten the monetary burden by providing financial aid whenever possible, following the example of some democratic countries to promote popular awareness and share in the expenses of such a national partnership.

What is astonishing is that the new People's Assembly electoral law requires a number of stand-by candidates equal to that of the original candidates when half that number would suffice in view of the fact that they would replace members who resign, pass away or lose their membership. It cannot be imagined that this will happen to all the original candidates during the Assembly's term under the proportional representation slate system in the electoral district! It only adds more problems to existing ones. God protect us from the evil of complications and intricacies.

12502

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## NPUG CRITICIZES SUBSIDY POLICIES

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 15 Feb 84 p 5

[Article] by Drs 'Abd-al-'Azim Anis and Ibrahim al-'Isawi: "What Does Gradual Elimination of Subsidies Mean?"

[Text] The news item published in the last edition of AL-AHALI about the recommendation of the Higher Committee for Economic Affairs and Policies of the cabinet on 7 December regarding the gradual elimination of subsidies (for various commodities and services) over a number of years deserves consideration and analysis in view of the serious indications that it entails, some of which are summarized below:

First, one of these serious indications not only concerns the issue of subsidies, but also the deceptive method employed by the NDP government in running the affairs of state. Whereas the government insists in its public statements and in the People's Assembly that subsidies are here to stay as an important means of revenue redistribution and of improving the lot of low-income groups, and that the matter does not go beyond its desire to put a stop to subsidy abuses, official documents and actual resolutions indicate that the government is in fact moving on the path of gradual elimination of subsidies at the urging of foreign economic institutions, notably the IMF and the World Bank, two organizations dominated by Washington.

This actual official orientation regarding the subsidies issues is not limited to the document published in AL-AHALI's last edition--although this document in itself represents a scandal for the government--for there are numerous other indications pointing to a government tendency towards gradual elimination of subsidies.

In the 5-year plan put into effect 1 July 1982, the government declared its intention to stabilize subsidy costs at 2 billion Egyptian pounds, a very small increase of 40 million pounds for 1982/1983 over the 1981/1982 level, or an overall reduction from 9.6 percent in 81/82 to 6.3 percent at the end of the plan. This translates into a reduction in the individual share of real subsidies (actual value of commodities and services) from 45.4 to 39.6 pounds, a 13 percent decrease during the 5 years of the plan.

Nonetheless, the 1983/84 general budget did not conform to the subsidy line set forth in the 5-year plan. As the Grouping Party's economic committee

explained in its reply to the budget plan, this budget in fact called for a 17.4 percent reduction in subsidies at current prices, a rate equal to more than 30 percent if inflation is to be excluded.

According to the 5-year plan's guidelines, subsidies at current 83/84 prices were expected to reach 2.880 million pounds, but the amount provided for in the budget is no more than 58 percent of this figure. Although this reduction is partly due to lower prices of certain imported good items, it is also the result of what the budget statement called "subsidy rationing."

Could this "subsidy rationing" be the new name for the gradual elimination of subsidies? All signs--in addition to the document published in AL-AHALI--point to this.

Second, if we were to put aside the talk about budget and plan figures and rates and go back to the real issue, which is the feelings of the ordinary low-income citizen, any fair-minded person will admit to the periodic changes in prices of commodities and services. It has been established that some commodities and services have gone up in price quietly (i.e., without prior notice) such as butter, sesame paste (sweet), detergents, soap and transportation, etc. and that other commodities disappear for a while only to reappear at higher prices (cigarettes for example) on the pretext of different specifications.

The most serious impact of this phenomenon on the poor classes, however, is the shortage of subsidized foodstuffs of nutritional value (fava beans, lentils, sesame paste) in cooperatives at a time when they are in plentiful supply in private sector stores and supermarkets at many times the subsidized price. The subsidy for sesame paste has been totally eliminated.

This tangible reality actually means that popular classes must either consume less of these items that are basic to their way of life, or buy their needs from private sector stores at prices much higher than the subsidized price. All this is taking place at a time when distribution of revenue is turning more and more in favor of the wealthy and against the poor, with all the ensuing dangers to national unity and social security lauded by the NDP government, while the state's general budget included a 3 percent increase in wages and subsidies at current prices, which means in reality a reduction of 14 percent in real value.

Third, it may be said that besides its tendency to eliminate subsidies, the government is planning to replace subsidies-in-kind with monetary subsidies and that the recommendation of the Higher Committee for Economic Affairs and Policies pointed to that. Our reply to this is that the problem lies in determining subsidy eligibility and in practical ways to channel this monetary subsidy to the deserving. If eligibility considerations are oriented towards government and public sector employees and retirees, our reply is that they represent no more than 25 percent of the work force and there is a large percentage of public sector employees, especially in the unregulated section, deserving such subsidies. It may also be said that the availability of accurate data on the distribution of revenue makes it possible to apply the principle of monetary compensation. The problem is that accurate data such

as this is not available and even if it were, it is, even in advanced countries, no more than general information lacking the details necessary for the identification of the eligible families.

On the other hand, a look at this problem in the long run reveals that inevitable changes in the structure of eligible groups from year to year will take place whereby some families will lose their eligibility while others will be added to the groups. We do not know how such changes can be practically monitored and the subsidy systems modified accordingly.

Finally, with the ever rising prices of commodities and services, how can we guarantee that monetary subsidy estimates will be in keeping with social justice considerations from one year to another?

Fourth, we would like once again to call attention to the Grouping Party's position on the subsidy issue that a subsidy is neither a disgrace nor a vice. Rather, it is a fair method used by all the countries of the world as an important tool of eliminating the disparity in the distribution of revenue. In its reply to the new budget (published in AL-AHALI 29 June 1983) the party's economic committee proposed that, in order to eliminate disparity in the distribution of revenue, subsidies must be financed from taxes and fees levied on the affluent, including taxes on luxury items and the differences in prices of commodities and services offered to the affluent at prices higher than the average cost. We are not against subsidy rationing provided that it is on the level and not an attempt to eliminate subsidies in the name of rationing! Actually, rationing means the limiting of subsidies to the end product offered to the consumer while eliminating all subsidies in the production stages, including those given in the form of loans for food security and housing. Rationing also calls for an agreement on the basic commodities to be made available to consumers at suitable prices, provided that they be tied to the food ration cards as the general basis. If this cannot be done for certain items, the coupon system may be applied. Finally, rationing in our judgment requires the elimination of all hidden subsidies such as tax and duty exemptions and low-cost energy for consumer and open-door policy projects in the country and the free zones.

Fifth, now the important question: Why does the NDP government insist on its direction toward the elimination of subsidies despite all the proof and perils that were supposed to dissuade it from such a course, like the January, 1977 events and the events in Tunis and Morocco a few weeks ago.

Perhaps the real answer to this question is that we are facing a government that bows to the directives and guidelines of the IMF, the World Bank and the American Agency for International Development, no matter how phony and flashy its words are when talking about national sovereignty, national pride and rejection of all kinds of intervention in our domestic affairs.

It is common knowledge that these agencies--which are basically American in nature--offered this "deadly prescription" to all the developing countries unfortunate enough to get caught in their grip. This deadly prescription may be summed up in higher prices, elimination of subsidies, higher unemployment and lower government spending--in the services sector in particular--plus the

devaluation of local currency. It is offered under the pretext of improving the economic and monetary situation, but in fact is directed against the standard of living of the poor classes, who are the majority in developing countries, and in favor of the wealthy and foreign investors.

Developing countries have to abide by IMF and World Bank directives and guidelines if they are to obtain loans not only from these agencies, but from any other foreign private bank.

The fact is none of these banks will grant loans to any applicants who do not enjoy the confidence of the IMF and the World Bank.

It is the dreadful path of subordination our government is following. It aggravates our problems, drags down the standard of living of the great majority of the people and raises our debts while compounding our inability to meet our payments until we reach a dead end.

On this dead-end street, not only do we have to abide by economic guidelines and directives alone, but by political ones as well. We have to befriend those whom Washington wants us to befriend and make enemies of those whom Washington wants us to oppose, regardless of our true national interests. We have to offer facilities and bases for the American Rapid Deployment Force and defend American policies in the Arab homeland, or at the very least remain silent and not raise our voice in protest against American aggression against the Lebanese people who are being bombarded day and night by American 6th fleet guns.

In the shade of a climate such as this, government talk about national sovereignty and rejection of intervention in domestic affairs has a hollow ring to it or is a smokescreen to hide the dreadful truth, the truth of subordination.

12502

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## NPUG POSITION ON JOB PARITY LAW

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 15 Feb 84 p 5

[Article by 'Abd-al-Ghaffar Shukr: "The Job Parity Law: Step by Step Policy Triumphed But Main Problem Still Remains"]

[Text] At last, the new parity law was passed after 2 years of study, debates and one postponement after another, during which the official press never stopped announcing the good news about its imminent promulgation and attributing the tardiness in passing this law to an eagerness to close this file for good, to eliminate all related problems and to achieve equality among the various labor groups.

All this notwithstanding, the new law did not achieve this goal; the crux of the job parity problem is still there. Our associate, Abu-al-'Izz al-Hariri, outlined the Grouping Party's stance during the People's Assembly debates by saying: "It is an empty term because it does not achieve true parity among workers. All it does is improve some of their conditions. A radical solution to parity must include a re-evaluation of all academic qualifications in accordance with a fair standardized rule based on the number of academic years for all qualifications and the number of years of actual experience for those who do not have academic qualifications."

It is striking that, faced by al-Hariri's remarks, government and ruling party representatives in the People's Assembly admitted that the new law did not solve all parity problems and that the government will continue its studies to find a final solution to this question. Dr 'Adil 'Abd-al-Baqi, minister of administrative development, asked the People's Assembly for prompt approval because this law rectifies the situation of workers and acknowledges their grades in a personal way. The minister was modest in citing this reason only as a justification for quick promulgation of this new law without conferring upon it greater attributes, as did the official press during the debates. National Democratic Party personnel management advisors preferred to remain silent about the bills they had submitted to the People's Assembly containing more universal solutions to these problems. They also changed their mind about bringing up the proposals of the General Labor Federation, seemingly under the influence of stern partisan instructions consecrating the triumph of a step-by-step policy in solving job parity problems.



## Law Solves the Problems of Some Groups

The new law included solutions to some important problems facing certain labor groups, the most significant of which are:

- 1 - Granting 2 step increases of a minimum 5 Egyptian pounds a month to those promoted in accordance with the job failure or unsatisfactory performance law and not covered under Law 135 and its amendments, and to holders of the now-defunct intermediate diplomas preceded by the old elementary diploma and the defunct intermediate diplomas that used to require a minimum of 4 years of study following the old elementary diploma.
- 2 - Lowering to 3 years the overall periods i.e., time in grade necessary for the promotion of grades included in Schedule IV of the job reform law.
- 3 - Granting military and police personnel transferred to civilian jobs between 1 January 1975 and 31 December 1977, who are not covered under the employment reform law, two step increases of 5 pounds minimum per month.
- 4 - Credit prior service, even if it is less than a year, and consider requests to credit prior service submitted as of 19 September 1977, to get the benefit of Law 23 of 1977, and as of 7 August 1978, to get the benefit of Law 23 for 1978.
- 5 - Apply the parity laws to employees of one of the state's administrative agency units or public authorities who used to work for units that have since been legally converted from general administrations or authorities into general organizations or for economic units converted into general authorities or government units as of 13 December 1974.
- 6 - Employees whose cases have been mistakenly equalized will keep their grades plus the two new increases, minus the balance to the amount of 25 percent of the periodic increase.

## Problems Requiring Solutions

It is clear that the new law did not tackle the main parity problems resulting from the application of Law 83 of 1973 and the employment reform law and its amendments, nor did it deal with the effects of conflicting legal opinions and regulations, particularly:

- College graduates whose salaries are lower than those of holders of intermediate diplomas whose cases were equalized under Law 83, or holders of intermediate and above-intermediate diplomas who were not covered by Law 83 and receive salaries lower than their colleagues with similar qualifications covered under the law.
- Employees with equal qualifications and seniority but employment situations that differ from one ministry to another.
- Employees who hold 4-year diplomas following the old elementary diplomas who should have been given grade 6 and not just two step increases, and

those who hold the old elementary diploma and should have been given grade 8 upon entry on duty.

- Setting 30 June 1984 as the deadline for appealing job equalization is incompatible with the fact that the new law did not solve all the problems. Therefore, it is an unconstitutional measure that deprives workers of their right to a legal appeal, especially since the new law did not settle all existing problems.

The step by step policy of solving job parity problems has triumphed and the government is still delaying a radical solution. The Grouping Party reaffirms the need for comprehensive job reform by equalizing all government jobs in accordance with regulations proposed by the General Labor Federation based on the number of academic years for each diploma, making the old elementary diploma the basis for granting grade 8, and granting the same grade to skilled employees by counting their years of experience as academic years.

This job reform can be carried out in stages; the important thing is to provide job security. Problems facing retirees must also be addressed immediately by deciding on appropriate wage increases for annuitants at a progressive rate for those who do not come under the parity law and instituting the principle of annual cost-of-living adjustments.

12502

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NPUG CRITICAL OF FOREIGN TRADE AGREEMENTS

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 15 Feb 84 p 6

[Article by Magdi Muhanna: "Strange Economic Agreements: Apples and Cattle to Egypt and '???' to Lebanon, Somalia. We Urge Prompt Conclusion of Deal Due to 'Pressing' Circumstances in Lebanon!: Letter from Lebanese Interests Section to Egyptian Minister of Economy"]

[Text] AL-AHALI has learned from informed sources that on 21 October 1983, the Egyptian government signed a protocol with the Lebanese government providing for the import of apples from Lebanon in exchange for the export of "unconventional" commodities not identified.

It has also learned that another Egyptian delegation went to Somalia last January 22 to sign an agreement to import bananas and cattle in exchange for the export of "unconventional" commodities, likewise not identified.

AL-AHALI examines in this report the Lebanese apple deal through official papers exchanged between the French embassy in Cairo, the Egyptian government and the Lebanese government. Any interposition on our part is meant merely to decode these papers in an attempt to reveal the truth about this deal out of our belief in the Egyptian and national principle of the people's right to know and our right to know their points of view.

The First Paper

A letter from Husayn Ahmad Husayn, first undersecretary of the ministry of economy and head of the trade representation sector, to Fawzi 'Abd-al-Shahid, board chairman of the Nile Company for the Export of Agricultural Products.

"I have the honor to inform you that on 31 October 1983, following discussions between an Egyptian delegation and a Lebanese delegation during the period from 28 to 31 October 1983, a protocol was signed, agreeing on the following:

"-Immediate reinstatement of all trade and economic agreements that were valid before the [Arab] boycott [of Egypt], in the forefront of which is the protocol signed on 20 October 1965.

"-Conclusion of a special deal that included export of Lebanese apples to Egypt, providing for the export of Egyptian goods to Lebanon in amounts and

terms of payment to be outlined by special ad hoc committees, taking into account the terms of the 1965 protocol.

"This was an 'exceptional' agreement calling for the export of \$5 million worth of Lebanese apples as part of the aforementioned deal, provided that it is done through the Nile Company for the Export of Agricultural Products, and that the amount not be paid and the import quota not exceed the \$5 million mark before an agreement is reached on the terms of the deal, on goods to be exported from Egypt and on terms of payment through the said ad hoc committees." Date: 6 November 1983

Note 1: What does the word "special" deal mean in this letter and what does the phrase "that included the export of Lebanese apples to Egypt providing for the export of Egyptian goods to Lebanon" mean? What did the 20 October 1965 protocol include and what does "this was an exceptional agreement" mean? Why exceptional? Why were the Egyptian goods to be exported to Lebanon not defined while Lebanese goods exported to Egypt were? If the \$5 million apple deal was part of the mutual deal, what is the total value of the deal? What does "payment be made through special ad hoc committees" mean and why were these committees not defined?

#### The Second Paper

A letter from the French embassy in Cairo, the Lebanese interests section, to the Egyptian minister of economy and foreign trade:

"In conformance with the protocol signed by your Excellency and His Excellency the Lebanese Minister of Economy and Trade on 31 October 1983 providing for the import of apples from Lebanon, we are pleased to inform you that the Lebanese National Council for Foreign Economic Relations, in its desire to enact this agreement, invites the board chairman of the Nile Company and one of his aides to come to Lebanon to work with Lebanese officials towards initiating the process of apple importation, hoping that Your Excellency will kindly set a date for the visit as soon as possible in view of the pressing circumstances." Signed: Ambassador 'Abd-al-Rahman al-'Ali.

#### Note 2:

1. The Lebanese National Council for Foreign Economic Relations is a government council under the presidency formed in accordance with legislative decree No 145, issued by Lebanese Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan on 16 September 1983. It is a council that oversees all export and import operations in Lebanon.

2. The French embassy letter contained the phrase "hoping that Your Excellency will kindly set a date for the visit as soon as possible in view of the pressing circumstances," but the "pressing circumstances" were never explained! Naturally, it did not mean Lebanon's need for "money" because the deal is an exchange of commodities whereby Egypt will not have to pay a penny and will not receive anything either. Therefore, what is Lebanon's "pressing" need for importing Egyptian goods and what could these goods be? Why were the Lebanese goods identified but not the Egyptian goods? Could

the civil "war" in Lebanon be the "pressing circumstances" referred to in the letter of the French embassy in Cairo?

### The Third Paper

Egyptian Minister of Economy and Foreign Trade Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id issued a decree on 30 November 1983 authorizing Mr Fawzi 'Abd-al-Shahid, authorized agent of the Nile Company for the Export of Agricultural Products, and Mr Muhammad 'Ali al-Mahruqi, head of the marketing and supply sector, to go to Lebanon for one week in November, 1983, provided that the company defray the travel expenses. The decision authorized travel on Egypt Air only, except for that part of the trip not covered by Egypt Air, in which case foreign carriers were authorized.

### Note 3:

The following question may be raised here: "Why was the Nile Company for the Export of Agricultural Products picked for this deal?" Although this is another matter, it can be summarized as follows: Despite the fact that the Nile Company is for the export of agricultural products, it nonetheless has an import license as well. The company had been incurring losses for the past 5 years and was saved by the Lebanese apple deal because the import cost of one kilo of apples is \$1 while it will be sold on the market for 3.5 Egyptian pounds!

### The Fourth Paper

A letter from the Lebanese National Council for Foreign Economic Relations to the board chairman of the Nile Company for the Export of Agricultural Products, containing a list of Lebanese exporters and the amounts allotted to each source. The letter was signed by office director, Salim al-Labban.

### The Fifth Paper

The Egyptian delegation went to Lebanon on 26 November 1983 and held talks with Sami Marun, chairman of the National Council for Foreign Economic Relations, acting on behalf of the Lebanese side. The apple deal was signed on 28 November 1983.

-The value of the deal was \$5 million.

-The first part of the deal was in the amount of \$2 million for 650 tons at a price of \$780 per ton, or about \$1 per kilo.

-Specifications: 80 percent of the amount in red apples and 20 percent in yellow apples.

-Article VI of the agreement stipulated that the Lebanese Council provide the Nile Company with a list of Lebanese exporters and the amounts allotted each of them.

-Article VII stipulated that the terms contained in this agreement shall not be considered final until they are ratified by designated official authorities in the two countries.

Note IV: It is noted that this agreement did not discuss Egyptian goods to be exported to Lebanon, but was confined to Lebanese apples: kind, amount and price.

Were payments made or not? Were the goods in exchange for other goods or not? These were not discussed in the terms of the agreement.

Article VII of the agreement means that the Egyptian delegation went for a specific mission which was to sign the agreement and nothing else. Everything else that follows would be concluded between the authorities of the two countries.

The agreement said nothing about the nature of these official authorities who alone had the right to ratify the deal! Are they the foreign ministry or the ministry of economy or..or.

#### Deal Complications

We forgot to mention a resolution banning the import of apples because they are considered a luxury item.

We also forgot to mention that the head of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce, 'Izzat Ghumaydhan, sent a letter to the head of the Nile Company for the Export of Agricultural Products on 29 December 1983, outlining the bases of distributing the deal to private sector merchants, in an attempt to put the finishing touches on the deal.

And, we forgot to mention that the retail price of the apples was set by the policies committee which comes under the cabinet directly, and not by the Nile Company which signed the apple deal. The committee set the price of one kilogram of yellow apples at 300 piasters and red apples at 350 piasters, a 300 percent profit for the government, thus competing with the private sector!

To sum it up, Egypt did not need apples, as witnessed by the fact that they were offered on the market at prices beyond the reach of most people. The result of all the above is that the purpose of this deal was to export to Lebanon certain goods said to be "unconventional," as proven by the fact that these goods were never defined and by the resolution banning the private sector from importing apples, then allowing the government to do so, and from Lebanon in particular, to sell at prices competitive with the private sector!

#### The People Should Know

Finally, there are still many questions about the nature of the "unconventional" goods we exported in exchange for apples we are not able to answer.

Why were they not clearly mentioned in the protocol signed by the Lebanese and Egyptian governments on 21 October 1983? Why were such topics not presented to the people and to public opinion so that they may express their views? Why are such deals not debated in the People's Assembly?

All this must be discussed and presented to the people. The people have the right to know everything. They have the right to know all the facts and the right to think for themselves and to decide their own course.

12502

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## HEALTH CARE CENTER DELAYS SHARPLY CRITICIZED

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 15 Feb 84 p 6

[Article by Kamal 'Abd-al-Wahhab: "Project Still An Apparition 13 Years Later; From Social Affairs to Faith and Hope to Ministry of Health and Vice Versa"]

[Text] Is it sensible to shut down a national project whose scientific and health services are not limited to Egypt alone but include the entire Arab region and which for 13 years has remained a concrete structure?

Is it sensible, when we are in dire need of every inch of land in ever so cramped Cairo, to neglect an area of 160,000 square meters?

Is it conceivable, at a time of critical need for all additional capabilities in the field of medical treatment and research, to embark upon such an ambitious project only to suspend it indefinitely for comprehensible or incomprehensible reasons?

This is actually the case regarding the Nasir Research and Medical Treatment Institute project which is still an apparition on the Nile Corniche in Shubra 13 years after an October 1970 decree was issued to have it built.

### Republican Decrees and Ministerial Promises

On 30 January 1983, People's Assembly member Sayyid Rustum inquired of the Minister of Health Dr Muhammad Sabri Zaki the reasons for halting work at the institute. This was not the first inquiry because the same member had submitted the same thing during the assembly's previous session. In his reply to the question, the minister promised that work on the Nasir Institute would resume in March, 1983, to be completed within 30 months. Now, 13 months later, not one step has been taken towards completing the project!

The story of the project began 8 months before the death of the late leader, Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, when he thought about setting up a model research and treatment institute. One month after his death, former President al-Sadat issued a republic decree to establish the Nasir Institute as a general authority and the cornerstone was laid on 5 November 1970. The authority signed a contract with the Egyptian Reinforced Concrete Works Company (public sector) and the Egyptian consulting firm of Nustafa Shawqi and Salah Zaytun to



prepare the project's documents and blueprints and supervise its construction. Work began on 30 October 1971 and the authority commissioned, through the French government, a construction advisor specializing in hospital design to review the project's designs. The advisor submitted a report expressing his admiration for the project and the designs prepared on the basis of the program drawn up by the technical committees that included senior medical specialists.

#### Decisions and Obstructions

During these 13 years, the following republican decrees were issued one after the other:

-An October, 1970 decision to set up the general board of the Nasir Research and Treatment Institute.

-A 29 October 1979 decree designating the institute as an agency of the Ministry of Social Affairs.

-A 28 June 1980 decree turning over the institute's ownership to the Faith and Hope Society.

-A 16 December 1980 decision turning the institute's ownership to the state once again as an agency of the Ministry of Social Affairs.

-An 8 August 1982 decree transferring the institute's full ownership to the Cairo Governorate treatment center.

During the second half of 1978 and the first half of 1979, the Egyptian consulting firm was subject to much harassment with a view to removing it from the project. The institute's acting director at the time was Ministry of Health Undersecretary Dr Amin al-Jamal. Following are some examples of such harassment:

-The institute tried to renege on its contractual commitments to the consulting firm with the help of some interested engineers and other parties. There was an attempt to cancel the contract with respect to supervision, but this attempt failed after the institute's legal counsel warned of financial and reparative damages to the firm if the contract was cancelled.

-A request for a legal opinion by the Council of State concerning the interpretation of some articles in the contract in favor of the institute about 7 years after the contract was signed.

-A notification to the [consulting] firm that, as of 27 March 1979, the contractor would turn over the project to the director of Faith and Hope's engineering department, although the republican decree turning over the institute's ownership to the Faith and Hope Society was issued on 28 June 1980.

-The Faith and Hope lawyers gave notice to the firm on 8 August 1979 and the firm replies the same month challenging the notice's validity and

consequences. It seems that the society was looking into a contract with the French engineering advisor who later was hired by the society and the Ministry of Social Affairs.

Following such obstructions, the Egyptian consulting firm asked the Ministry of Social Affairs to resolve the matter through a committee of arbitration in accordance with the contract's provisions, but nothing was done in this regard. On 4 August 1981, the firm filed a complaint with the Engineers Syndicate that issued a judgment on 14 February 1983 obligating the Nasir Institute to pay the outstanding balance for work done up to 20 May 1979 when work on the project came to a halt.

Following the stoppage, Ahmad Fawzi, secretary of the Faith and Hope presidency, asked the Egyptian consulting firm for photocopies and blueprints on the pretext that he wanted to give the project a push, and the firm gave him what he asked for. But, what was the real purpose?

#### Blatant Violation

This action was followed by a contract the society and the Ministry of Social Affairs awarded to a French advisor who later was found not to be a specialist, notwithstanding the existence of a contract with the Egyptian consulting firm. The contract, signed with the Frenchman on 19 June 1970, provided for an overall payment of 8.5 million Egyptian pounds. Between 16 September and 20 December 1981 (within 3 months), he received 1.8 million pounds, a sum personally authorized by the director of the institute and the Ministry of Social Affairs.

The contract also stipulated that the society pay the French advisor an advance equal to 30 percent of the total value of the contract, whereas the contract between the institute and the Egyptian firm provided for a payment not to exceed 100,000 pounds for initial preparations and other preliminary expenses, but only 60,000 pounds were paid from the time the project got under way up to the time the work was halted, that is, 9 years.

On 27 May 1982, the Egyptian [Consulting] firm filed another complaint with the Engineers Syndicate asking that a final position regarding its contract be defined and an investigation into the hiring of a foreign consultant to finish the project be initiated. The firm demanded that its professional, moral and material rights be safeguarded.

We asked Eng Mustafa Shawqi, an Egyptian consultant, why work on the project was halted. He said:

"The reasons for halting construction have nothing to do with the firm. There were many reasons that are best left to the courts to cite. However, there were some material reasons such as the lack of financing. For example, in the 1976 budget, there was a request for 2 million pounds for the project, but only 50,000 pounds were allocated. This is hardly enough for salaries and current expenses, a situation that led to a work stoppage lasting for a long period.

Why...The Nasir Institute?

One look at the project's objectives explains its utmost importance:

- Establishment of an integrated research unit to keep up with modern scientific developments in the various fields of medicine and medical treatment.
- Establishment of a 675-bed hospital to provide high-standard treatment for various diseases.
- Training doctors and nursing staffs after graduation to raise their efficiency and qualifications.
- Exchange research and expertise with international health agencies.

Furthermore, the project aimed at realizing huge economic and social returns, as follows:

- Save foreign currency spent on medical treatment for Egyptians abroad, in addition to earning foreign currency from treatment of Arabs and other nationals in Egypt.
- Stimulate tourism through a specialized center to receive people coming into the country for research and medical treatment and to provide tourist medical services.
- Save money spent on people sent abroad for study by admitting students to the research center.
- Take in part of the labor force and train technical groups at the center.
- Acquire a scientific standing in research and medical treatment and exchange scientific research with similar foreign agencies.
- Provide peace of mind for the citizenry by providing high-quality medical services without the trouble of going abroad for treatment and being subjected, in some areas, to exploitation.

As we can see, the objectives are great and the returns huge, but the years are passing without any construction, any accomplished objectives or any returns.

Now, we do not expect an answer from the Faith and Hope Society because it cannot withstand any more questioning because its high officials have been charged with "plenty."

We do not expect an answer from the Ministry of Social Affairs because it seems that at one time it belonged to the Faith and Hope and not the other way around. Consequently, it was powerless!

But we definitely expect an answer from the Ministry of Health as the one responsible for the institute.

We do not want silence that buries this huge project in utter oblivion!

Neither do we want words that lead us and the project to a new labyrinth where more years are lost God knows to whose advantage. All we want is a responsible position that puts the national interest above all else.

12502

CSO: 4504/201

INCREASING ENERGY CONSUMPTION CAUSES CONCERN

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 47, 3 Mar 84 p 63

/Article by 'Abu Bakir al-Sadiq al-Sharif: "After Increased Concern With the Problem, the Moroccans Implemented an Energy Program and the Dollar Destroyed All of the Supplies"7

/Text/ Morocco's energy consumption has increased from 803,000 tons before 1973 to 4.8 million tons in 1982.

There is a television advertisement that the Moroccans have memorized by heart which says sarcastically: "You guys, this is it, energy is precious, preserve it," even though the educated elite in Morocco regard this ad as a "humorous joke," recent reports show that Morocco has been able since 1980 to save 2.2 billion dirhams worth of hard currency thanks to the use of alternative sources of energy such as the use of dry grasses to fuel sugar production and the use of bituminous coal for electrical generation and also for the production of cement. With respect to lighting the industrial sector is consuming the greatest amount of electricity while the public is consuming only 2.4 percent.

The reports observed that the saving of energy bears great importance and vital necessity in regards to dealing with the oil bill which has seen a forced climb paralleling the increase in the price of crude petroleum, in addition to the increase in the value of the dollar, a matter which causes an increase or decrease, hardly worth mentioning, in the amount of consumption. The Moroccan Bank for Exterior Commerce clarified in its report that was published here that crude oil imports remained stable during 1981 and 1982 at a level of 4.4 million tons at a time when the cost increased from 5.6 million dirhams to 6.6 million dirhams or at an average of 17 percent and this, says the report, confirms that the increase in the bill is not a result of an increase in the level of consumption.

The National Company for Petroleum Products in turn issued statements announcing that the total consumption of gasoline in Morocco had decreased markedly during the period from 1979 to 1982, such that the consumption average went from 539,000 cubic meters to 504,000 cubic meters or a decrease of 13 percent. It was also learned from the report that consumption in respect to each citizen had decreased in the last years despite an increase in the population. According to the reports this means that Morocco is one of the countries which consumes the least

energy. In the statistical list concerning world energy consumption which the National Company for Petroleum Products used to support its opinion, it is made clear that the United States of America is the biggest energy consumer as individual energy consumption reaches a level of 8 tons of petrol per year, while in Europe it is 4 tons, Spain 1.9 tons, Gabon 1.6 tons, Algeria 0.6 tons, Tunisia and Egypt 0.5 tons, Morocco 0.3 tons. In conclusion the statistics indicated an average energy consumption among the technological societies of 1.7 tons, in Africa 0.5 tons, and in Asia 0.6 tons.

Moroccan economic circles specializing in the field of energy say that the consumption of gas, fuel oil, and other petroleum products has been reduced thanks to the decrease in individual energy consumption in Morocco. These circles say that Morocco had been consuming 803,000 tons, and that in 1973 it increased to 2.3 million tons, in 1978 to 3.8 million tons and then to 4.8 million tons in 1982. The circles conclude their remarks saying that the increasing population and the development of Moroccan life during these periods shows that the amount of consumption is above zero.

The French language newspaper L'OPINION noted that the fuel consumption of automobiles represents a large portion of total energy consumption. In this regard every junior Moroccan employee owns a car, until proven otherwise, and based upon what has preceeded, it is clear that Moroccans have realized the benefits of the advertisement for preserving energy at a time when the increase in the value of the dollar has thwarted the ambitions for conservation and destroyed the hopes pinned upon it.

12390

CSO: 4504/213

AFGHAN CLANDESTINE RADIO REPORTS ON OPERATIONS

GF211958 (Clandestine) Voice of Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan in Dari 1700  
GMT 21 Mar 84

[Text] According to reports by our Muslim Mujahidin, the Soviet occupying forces and the forces of the puppet Karmal regime in retaliation for the defeats suffered by them earlier at the hands of our combatant Mujahidin, attacked, using various heavy weapons, our Mujahidin in villages in Nimruz Province. In these operations, which also included hand-to-hand combats at least 70 of the invading forces were killed and wounded, and 5 of their armored vehicles were destroyed. Similarly, in these operations the mercenaries of the regime looted four residential quarters and 20 of our Muslim oppressed brothers were arrested by the enemy on charges of cooperation with their Mujahid brothers.

In another heroic battle between our Mujahidin and the occupying forces and the forces of the puppet Karmal regime, in Chakhansur District, our Muslim revolutionaries were successful in killing and wounding 30 enemy forces. In this operation a quantity of arms and booty fell to the hands of our revolutionary brothers.

In the (Rangan Rud) fronts in Farah Province, in an attack carried out in (Bakwa) District where there is a camp of Soviet and Babrak Karmal forces, our brothers were successful in killing 14 of the enemy. Among those killed was the head of the Karmal intelligence service in (Bakwa).

In this heroic attack on the camp of Soviet and Babrak Karmal forces, many casualties were inflicted on them. Similarly, 45 pieces of assorted weapons fell to the hands of our Mujahidin.

According to reports received from Balkh Province, severe clash occurred between our Mujahidin brothers and the occupying forces and the forces of their puppet regime in Nahr-e Shahi in Balkh Province. In this operation, our Mujahidin were able to inflict considerable losses on the occupying forces and that of their mercenaries. So far accurate figures of their losses have not been received. This clash resulted in the retreat of the invading force.

CSO: 4665/31

AFGHAN CLANDESTINE RADIO REPORTS LATEST VICTORIES

GF240930 (Clandestine) Voice of Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan in Dari 1715  
GMT 23 Mar 84

[Text] Our Muslim Mujahidin are in a state of constant alert against possible aggression by the Soviet occupation forces and their puppet mercenaries in the Panjshir valley.

One of the commanders of the area has informed us that the Mujahidin have been instructed to attack the enemy when he passes through the (Sanghilan) tunnel in order to stop any large-scale onslaught of the aggressor forces in the north of the valley.

I may be recalled that our heroic Mjuahidin have inflicted lethal blows on the usurpist enemy in the Panjshir valley. Violent clashes between the hirelings of the Karmal regime and our Muslim Mujahidin took place in (?areas of) in the Laghman Province and continued for a few days. In these clashes, the quislings of the regime, who used various weapons, were forced to retreat after suffering heavy casualties. According to reports received, at least three of our soldiers returned to the fold of Islam and joined the ranks of the Muslim Mujahidin. It is noteworthy that Muslim soldiers leaving the fronts and (?groups) and defecting to the ranks of their Mjuahidin brothers has become natural and daily phenomenon in our country.

In an attack on a patrol group of Karmal's minions who intended to attack (Babajir) village, our Mujahidin brothers were successful in killing and wounding a number of the group members. In this lightening attack, one of the mercenaries was captured along with the arms in his possession.

CSO: 4665/31



FOURTEEN PARTIES, JANADAL FORM ALLIANCE

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 14 Mar 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] Fifteen political parties of the country have formed a pro-government alliance hailing the announcement of President Ershad to float a front with the like-minded organisations.

The components of the newly formed alliance are Janadal, Muslim League (T. Ali), BNP (Dudu-Nilu), Bangladesh United Nationalist Party, 18-Point Imolemen-tation Council, Nezam e-Islami Party, Islamic Democratic League, Bangladesh Democratic Party, Liberal Democratic Party, Jana Ganatantrik Dal, Nikhil Bang-ladesh Muslim League, Krisak Sramik Party, Jatiya Biplabi Party, Bangladesh Peoples League and the Republican Party.

In a statement issued yesterday the alliance expressed its solidarity with General Ershad and said that the president's announcement to form a front at this critical hour of the nation would act as a milestone in consolidating national unit.

The alliance said, it welcomes the announcement of General Ershad with a view to ending the political crisis, forging greater national unity, eliminating the threat of foreign aggression and internal conspiracy against national in-dependence and sovereignty.

Meanwhile, Bangladesh Muslim League (Siddiky) yesterday denied that it hailed the announcement of President Ershad about formation of a front and said that question does not arise of joining his organisation in the proposed front.

Contradicting a report broadcast by Radio Bangladesh in this connection Pres-ident of Muslim League Justice B. A. Siddiky said it was false, baseless and motivated.

CSO: 4600/1696

BANGLADESH, INDIA AGREE TO JOINT VENTURES

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 15 Mar 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] Three agreements on setting up of Joint Venture industrial units in private sector between Bangladesh and India were signed during the week-long visit of the 13-member delegation from Punjab, Haryana and Delhi Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

This was disclosed by Mr K K Modi, leader of the delegation and President of PHD chamber at a Press conference on Wednesday at National Press Club. The units were: a specialised fabric unit to be set up at Export Processing Zone at Chittagong, production of a film in collaboration with the FDC and a chemical and engineering unit, he said. The Joint Ventures would involve investment of a total of five million dollar, (Taka 12.5 crore) Mr Modi said.

Mr Modi said that there could be wider cooperation between Bangladesh and India in the fields of industry, trade and commerce and transfer of technology. He said that the purpose of his delegation's visit to Bangladesh was to "help foster the development of two-way bilateral trade and economic cooperation between the two countries."

Mr Modi said that a memorandum of understanding with Dhaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry was also signed during the visit of the delegation. The delegation members called on Government leaders officials and different chambers and trade associations, he said.

Replying to a question Mr Modi said that in few cases there had been some problems of exporting of Indian machinery to Bangladesh. But, he said that the Indian machinery were generally accepted by the Bangladeshi entrepreneurs.

The delegation arrived Dhaka on March 9. They are expected to leave Bangladesh today (Thursday) at the conclusion of their week-long visit.

CSO: 4600/1697

FINNISH VISITOR DISCUSSES ASIAN PROBLEMS WITH GANDHI

Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Mar 84 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 22--The good offices of the Finnish Foreign Minister, Mr. Paavo Vayrynen, are being utilised by some friendly countries to ascertain the latest thinking of China and Vietnam on Kampuchea to see whether it is possible to work out a reasonable solution.

After his recent trips to China and Japan, Mr. Vayrynen has paid an official visit to India and is now going to Vietnam for talks on the Kampuchean issue.

He left Delhi tonight for Bangkok to meet the Thai Foreign Minister, before proceeding to Hanoi for more substantive discussions. He also intends to go to Kuala Lumpur for talks with the Malaysian Foreign Minister to get an idea of Asean's views on the subject.

As the Foreign Minister of a country having cordial relations with both the Soviet Union and United States, Mr. Vayrynen is eminently qualified to explore the possibilities of evolving a realistic approach to the Kampuchean problem that would be equally acceptable to Moscow and Washington as well as Hanoi and Beijing at least as a starting point for negotiations.

Mr. Vayrynen has had a detailed discussion with the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, on the problems of Indo-china states during his stay in Delhi. The Indian stand right through has been that so long as China, Asean and others continue to back Pol Pot, there can be no settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

Beijing's attitude: But there are indications that, though China continues to actively help the Pol Pot forces to carry out raids across the Thai border into Kampuchea, Beijing is no longer averse to the idea of negotiations with Hanoi for settling this problem. The Asean countries, too, have opened up direct contacts with Vietnam, with Indonesia and Malaysia sending official delegation to Hanoi to improve their bilateral relations.

Despite its grave concern over the continued presence of Vietnamese troops on its border, Thailand also is reported to be veering round to the view that

there is no alternative to a negotiated settlement of the Kampuchean question. It is prepared to take steps to prevent Pol Pot's forces from carrying out raids into Kampuchea from its territory, if there is a matching gesture from the Vietnamese side for lessening the border tensions.

As chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, India is deeply interested in an early settlement of both the Afghan and Kampuchean issues which have been a source of considerable embarrassment. It had, therefore, no hesitation at all in welcoming the Finnish effort to at least clarify the issues before the basic differences could be narrowed down.

The Indian view is that it is futile to expect to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea without credible guarantees that there would be no outside intervention to topple the Heng Samrin regime. As long as the U.S. and China do not abandon Pol Pot and withdraw their support to the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, there can be no serious negotiations with Vietnam for a phased withdrawal of its forces.

India's role: The Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry dealing with East and South-East Asia, Mr. K. Natwar Singh, has returned from a trip to Kuala Lumpur and Singapore, and he is due to visit Hanoi before going to Beijing for the next round of official talks on the Sino-Indian border problem. In a quiet way India also has been taking a close look at the Kampuchean scene to see whether there is any scope for a fresh initiative from any quarter at this stage.

All these moves may not add up to a serious effort to begin a new dialogue on this complex problem; but they do indicate a growing desire on the part of all concerned to make a renewed effort to resolve the Kampuchean question. But there is no evidence of any comparable desire on the part of the big powers or more proximate neighbours to make a similar bid to get the stalled talks on Afghanistan into stride again.

CSO: 4600/1691

DELHI REVIEWS PROGRESS OF SRI LANKA TALKS

Madras THE HINDU in English 19 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 18--There was a high-level review here today of the tardy progress of the roundtable talks in Sri Lanka on devolution of powers to the regional councils to provide greater autonomy to the Tamil majority areas in the island.

The External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, called a meeting in which the Prime Minister's special envoy, Mr. G. Parthasarathy, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. M. K. Rasgotra, the Indian High Commissioner to Sri Lanka, Mr. S. J. S. Chhatwal, and other officials participated.

The fact that this meeting was held on a Sunday in the midst of the Holi holidays gave the impression that the Government of India was not happy with the slow pace of the talks in Colombo and that, in its view, something needed to be done to get these discussions into full stride again.

Summoning of Envoy

The High Commissioner, Mr. Chhatwal, has been called to Delhi for consultations. He was due to arrive later for the conference of Indian envoys in Southern Asian countries, but the fact that the Government felt it necessary to call him earlier has its own significance.

The two committees that were set up by the roundtable conference have yet to submit their reports on the specified subjects. The Sri Lankan authorities have been complaining about renewed violence which cannot be attributed to the "Tamil Tigers" alone, since there were some incidents involving the Army and the local police as well.

Travel Curbs

Though the Sri Lanka Government has been maintaining that there was nothing new in the announcement of the new restrictions on travel to India, since it was more in the nature of a reminder to the public of the existing regulations, the net result of the order is that the TULF leaders will not be able to come to Madras or Delhi as frequently as they would like to, for consultations.

## NO PROGRESS SEEN IN JANATA PLENARY MEETING

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 16 Mar 84 p 9

[Text] PATNA, March 15--The Janata quest at its two-day plenary session here over the week end for revival of the miracle of 1977 that turned the party into a phenomenon, however, short lived, would appear to have been in vain.

The party leadership here also carried out an exercise aimed at going beyond the 1977 Janata--which had comprised the then Congress (O), the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (now BJP), the former Praja Socialists and Lohia Socialists and Mr Charan Singh's party--looking for parties willing to merger with the party, as it exists now.

The party, however, made it clear all along that it intended to retain its identity, flag, election symbol and name. This was stated by the party's re-elected president, Mr Chandra Shekhar, in his address to the plenary

Eventually, the question of forming alliances and arriving at seat adjustments with other Opposition parties, including the Communists, was left entirely to Mr Chandra Shekhar. Since no specific mention of any Opposition party was made either in the political resolution or in Mr Chandra Shekhar's speech, the inference was left to be drawn from a statement in the presidential address that the cooperation among the Opposition parties "would help in assimilation of like-minded parties, groups and people within our fold and for evolving a pragmatic understanding with the parties that are willing to respond and lastly to make electoral adjustments in order to prevent splitting of Opposition votes."

Mr George Fernandes, a former Lohia Socialist, and Mr Biju Patnaik pleaded at the national executive meeting for "unconditional merger" of Janata with the Lok Dal making Mr Charan Singh the president of a new party and accepting him at the Opposition leader in the Lok Sabha and chairman of a new parliamentary party. But Mr Chandra Shekhar, his erstwhile Praja Socialist and his newly-acquired friends of the former Congress (O), including the Karnataka Chief Minister, Mr Ramakrishna Hegde, did not accept the pro-Charan Singh lobby's proposal. Since there was no agreement at the session on future alliance partners, the Janata national executive decided to authorize the party president to carry on negotiations with "like-minded" political parties for alliances, electoral seat adjustments and merger.

The decision to vest all powers in Mr Chandra Shekhar was subsequently kept loose for manoeuvring at the summit level. The leadership obtained the mandate from the party's national council and from the plenary without it being made clear and unequivocal. What it intends to do is to work for a broader unity of Opposition parties against the Congress (I) in the next Lok Sabha elections. For their part the Janata national executive, and national council did not appear to have arrived at any election strategy of how to fight the Congress (I).

The rank and file at the plenary looked in vain for guidance from Mr Chandra Shekhar or from the collective leadership on the dais about preparations for the next elections at the grassroots level. The prepared text of Mr Chandra Shekhar's address did not indicate what programme the party had for possible replacement of the Congress (I) Government at the Centre and in the States.

There was no attempt to offer an assurance that would convince the people that the parties now in Opposition would remain united, if elected to power. One could not come to a definite conclusion from the deliberations that even the Janata Party as it exists now will remain intact until the elections to the Lok Sabha are formally announced. There were indications that Mr Fernandes, Mr Karpoori Thakur and other Lohia Socialists had made it clear to Mr Chandra Shekhar and his supporters that without Mr Charan Singh's Lok Dal, the Janata could not be an alternative to the Congress (I). It remains to be seen what timing the Lohia Socialists choose to walk out of Janata.

CSO: 4600/1679

## REPORT ON OPPOSITION FRONT DRAFT POLICY STATEMENT

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 17 Mar 84 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 16 (PTI)--THE six-party opposition united front is likely to express its commitment to democratic and federal polity, secular ideals, egalitarian economy and socialist society rooted in Gandhian values.

The draft policy statement of the front is understood to have stressed that such a commitment will provide the basis for a broad consolidation of the forces of democracy, secularism and socialism to defeat authoritarianism and status quo and usher in a new socio-economic order based on justice and equality.

The statement criticises the planning process for taking aggregate growth as the plan objective without spelling out the precise manner in which the fruits of enhanced wealth and incomes will be shared.

This has led to a 'phenomenal growth of prosperity for few and continuation of appalling misery for the overwhelming Indian poor', the policy statement says.

It rejects the "trickle down theory" of development that rich should grow richer to generate savings for the welfare of the poor. Planning has to be designed for the benefit of the poor and not for making the rich richer.

#### Unjust Taxes

The draft policy statement stresses the need for an effective devolution of the political and economic power to preserve the spirit of the country's federal polity.

The Centre-state relations must be reviewed and necessary constitutional amendments effected so that states can enjoy more powers and obtain their due share in financial and other resources.

Dealing with current problems, the policy statement says that the real character of the country's inflation shows that prices of foodgrains and other basic necessities of life are rising at a much faster rate than those of luxury goods and non-essentials.



It attributes the inflationary situation to (a) "reckless expenditure" by government through deficit financing, (b) an unjust taxation system which heavily relies on indirect taxes on basic necessities, (c) the neglect of investment for the production of essential consumer goods and (d) the impact of a parallel black money.

In this context, the front would stand for placing a high priority on production, distribution and lower pricing of mass consumer goods. A minimum quantity of essential commodities must be made available to all at cheap prices and, if need be, at subsidised rates to the lower and middle income groups, it says.

On the pricing policy, the statement says there has to be a parity between agricultural and industrial products. The organised manufacturing units and large private traders and distributors should not be permitted to make abnormal profits.

Irrigation facilities and other inputs like electricity, diesel and fertilisers must be made available to peasants at moderate prices, and crop insurance and other measures to protect farmers from risks should be introduced at the earliest.

#### Nation's Responsibility

The statement blames the "failure to alter the land structure" and "the neglect of investments and expansion of economic opportunities" in rural areas for expanding the number of rural unemployed. It, therefore, stresses the need for bringing land reforms within the purview of the ninth schedule of the constitution to avoid unnecessary litigations.

The front believes that the real assets of a nation lie in its manpower and the responsibility for the provision of gainful job opportunities is that of the state.

The right to work and employment need to be included as a fundamental right in the constitution.

The statement advocates a multi-pronged scheme to tackle the pro-tor work, employment guarantee need to be included, BftAr scheme and labour co-operatives can play an important role in this regard, the state must undertake new construction activity (canals, roads, railway lines, hospitals, schools and other community tasks) in a manner that off-seasonal employment can be provided for many.

It also stresses the need for mobilising educated youth for eradicating illiteracy in ten years and for a land army to bring barren land under cultivation.

The statement criticises the concentration of economic power and stresses the need for effective steps to curb monopolies in the interest of workers and the public at large.

It says that regulatory laws like the MRTPA, IDRA, FERA have been rendered meaningless by exemptions, deviations and ad hocism in administration. The entire system needs a drastic overhaul to protect small and cottage industries.

It gives a call for curbing corruption at the highest level by making the institutions of "Lok Pal" and "Lokayukta" more effective.

On electoral reforms, it wants a genuinely independent election commission, state funding of elections to free them from the stranglehold of money power, lowering of voting age to 18 and a comprehensive anti-defection legislation without delay.

The front demands autonomy for government-controlled media so that the voice of dissent is not destroyed through it.

Regarding minorities, weaker sections and backward classes, it says the sense of insecurity among the minorities must be eliminated and they should get adequate opportunities for development. The police machinery should be streamlined and restructured to prevent communal riots.

So long as the social lag created over centuries persisted, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes must be given preferential treatment and recommendations concerning them should be expeditiously implemented.

#### Foreign Policy

On foreign policy, it says the test of diplomacy lies in strengthening friendship with neighbours and it should receive priority.

The statement also stresses the need for checking growing crimes against women and for raising their position in society.

Provisions of drinking water, elementary education, link roads and other minimum needs and eradication of malnutrition in children must be attended to on a priority basis. The problem of slums must also be handled expeditiously.

CSO: 4600/1680

FAROOQ ABDULLAH: KASHMIR ACCESSION TO INDIA UNDISPUTED

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 21 Mar 84 p 4

[Text] JAMMU, March 20--The Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister, Mr Farooq Abdullah, told the State Assembly yesterday that whosoever would try to challenge Kashmir's accession to India would face severe consequences under the law of the land.

In reply to a point of information raised by an Independent member, Mr Ali Mohammad Naik, regarding the recent detention of some anti-national and secessionist elements, Mr Abdullah said his Government was forced to detain them when they refused to desist from challenging the State's accession.

Mr Abdullah, however, said he was aware of the fact that mere detention of these elements could not solve problems permanently. All secular, democratic and socialist forces should unite irrespective of their individual party considerations to give a political fight, to all those secessionist elements.

He sought the Opposition's co-operation in his endeavour to get these elements not only eclipsed but wiped off.

Mr Abdullah said that on the eve of the current tourist season the Government had to remain all the more alert to maintain law and order. The State received a severe setback during last year's tourist season because of pre-poll and post-poll violence.

Mr Abdullah said it was unfortunate that the Congress (I) leaders were engaged in their "toppling game of the State Government"

In a booklet, which was released to newsmen by the Information Minister titled "Toppling Game in Jammu and Kashmir," Mr Abdullah has complained that "today, from Srinagar to New Delhi, a slanderous propaganda campaign has been launched by Congress (I) leaders backed by Central media agencies to destabilize" his Government.

Mr Abdullah who had repeatedly announced his decision to "boycott completely the national Press for their coverage during last year's elections to the State Assembly" has however, in the booklet, said: "We are thankful to the national Opposition and the national Press, who have, by and large, not allowed themselves to be overwhelmed by the Congress (I)'s current slanderous campaign against us" within and outside the State.

CSO: 4600/1687

## HOME MINISTER DISCUSSES NORTHEAST INSURGENCY

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 21 Mar 84 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 20--The Home Minister, Mr P. C. Sethi, told the Lok Sabha today that the Government had no "definite proof" that foreign countries were involved in the insurgent activity in the North-Eastern region.

Mr Sethi was answering a specific question put to him by Mr Harish Rawat (Cong-I) whether China and the USA were aiding extremists in that region.

The discussion was on a call-attention motion moved by Mr Ramavtar Shastri (CPI), Mr Harish Rawat, Mr Zainul Basher (both Congress-I), and Mr Chitta Basu (FB) on "the reported growing activities of insurgents in the North-Eastern part of the country, with particular reference to the killing of a number of CRPF personnel and others and injuries caused to many persons in Imphal."

Mr Sethi told a member that there was no demand from the Manipur Government for withdrawal of CRPF personnel: "On the contrary, it has asked for strengthening them". The CRPF, he added, had been doing commendable work in the region.

Mr Sethi said that insurgents surrendering to the administration were being given Rs 10,000 each for their rehabilitation, with additional sums provided where necessary.

Making a statement in response to the motion, he said that there had been some incidents in Manipur, Tripura and Mizoram involving extremists, "but there has been no significant extremist activity in Nagaland and Assam in the recent months, and Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh have been peaceful".

He recalled that PLA, PREPAK and KCP and other allied bodies were declared unlawful associations in October last year. "The number of extremists arrested in Manipur during 1983 was 95. Besides, 13 extremists surrendered in 1983"

Mr Sethi added that the whole State of Manipur and the Union Territory of Mizoram had been declared "disturbed areas". Security measures had been tightened.

He mentioned also that the socio-economic development of the North-Eastern region was receiving due attention. The per capita outlay in the North-Eastern region was Rs 1,393 against Rs 872 in the rest of the country in the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

The first phase of Kopili hydal project with 25-MW capacity had just been commissioned and the broad gauge railway line between New Bongaigaon to Gauhati was likely to be completed by April 1984. A special TV network, at an estimated cost of Rs 36.5 crores, was also likely to be launched soon in the region.

UNI adds: The Manipur Deputy Chief Minister, Mr Tempok Singh, met the Prime Minister and the Home Minister here yesterday and apprised them of the situation arising out of the extremist attack on security forces at Imphal on March 14 in which 13 people were killed. He informed them of the State's decision to order a judicial probe into the incident.

CSO: 4600/1689

## CONCERN SHOWN OVER BANGLADESH DECISION ON PROPERTY

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 16 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 15--The External Affairs Minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha, Rao, has said that India is "deeply concerned" over the decision of the Government of Bangladesh to dispose of all vested property belonging to Indian nationals and minorities staying in that country and the repercussion it will have on the minority community in Bangladesh.

In a letter to Mr Bhai Mahavir, a Bharatiya Party M.P., Mr Rao has said that Janata Inida has repeatedly stated to the Bangladesh authorities that the instructions issued by them to take steps to vest or dispose of the properties will "create a feeling of insecurity among the minorities of Bangladesh and this has a danger of an exodus to India."

Mr Rao has said he has personally discussed the matter with the Bangladesh President, Lieutenant-General H. M. Ershad, stating that the properties cannot be disposed of without the consent of the owners or until the question of compensation has been settled between the two Governments.

Mr Rao has said that the Bangladesh Government has been informing India that the orders issued in this regard were primarily intended for "administrative convenience and are of a non-discriminatory nature" and that they will not harm the interests of the minorities or cause any eviction. The Bangladesh Government has told India that "they are mindful of the interests of the rightful owners and, in regard to the latest orders, it was conveyed to us that the intention is to return the properties even to the owners who are now in India.

Meanwhile, Mr Sujit Dhar, a member of the governing council of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, leading a Parishad team, visited Bangladesh, and has brought back with him alarming reports that in spite of its assurances the Bangladesh Government has already begun "operations" to dispose of the vested properties.

At a Press conference today, Mr Dhar quoted from a letter the Prime Minister had written to Mr Santosh Mohan Deb, M.P., saying "the welfare of the minorities in Bangladesh has remained a matter of standing concern to me".

Mr Dhar alleged that the recent orders of the Bangladesh Government and the "operations" of the authorities were aimed at turning the Indian property owners and the minorities in Bangladesh into destitutes.

## PLANS TO STRENGTHEN INDIAN NAVY REPORTED

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 19 Mar 84 p 5

[Text]

**New Delhi, March 18 (UNI):**

Long-term perspective plans to give a new dimension to the strike power of the Indian Navy are being finalised to meet the threat from the militarisation of the Indian Ocean and Pakistan.

The plans stipulate indigenisation of warship production and naval armament and addition of a new generation of cruisers, destroyers, submarines, long-range missiles and latest electronic counter measure equipment.

Official sources said the need to strengthen the Navy had become "very urgent" owing to the deterioration in the security environment.

Some top naval experts had suggested to the defence ministry that the strength of the Navy be doubled.

According to some experts, the massive modernisation and expansion programme of the Navy would require recruitment of 5,000 personnel in various ranks.

The government is understood to have approved the naval headquarters plan so that the Navy could look not only after the off-shore oil interests but also take care of the naval power build-up in the neighbourhood

and Indian Ocean.

Meanwhile, according to the latest edition of *Jane's Fighting Ships*, India is negotiating with the Soviet Union for the supply of three or four Foxtrot class diesel electrically driven submarines whose delivery will begin next year. Negotiations are also on regarding Kresta II class cruisers, three Kashni Kashin II class guided missile destroyers, three or four Manuchka II class guided missile, armed fast Corvettes and up to six Natya class ocean minesweepers.

The Soviet Union has two new types of diesel electric submarines in production—the Tango (3000 tonnes) and Kilo (2500 tonnes). The Kilo class is for the Soviet Union's pacific fleet and would seem to be the logical choice for the Indian Navy.

According to experts, the absence of a medium-calibre gun from the modernisation programme was indicative of the Indian Navy's continued stress to be defensive rather than an offensive power.

The harbour training role leaves the Navy with 4.5 mm guns as the largest weapon available for gunfire support of troops ashore.

CSO: 4600/1692

MINISTER VELAYATI ON PRESENCE OF U. S. SHIPS IN GULF

GF241319 Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 5 Mar 84 p 4

["Exclusive" interview with Dr Velayati, foreign minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran with unidentified ETTELA'AT correspondent--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Question: Following the start of the special Kyaybar operations, the United States is trying to divert the thoughts of the world from the main subject of war between Iran and Iraq to the Persian Gulf, and this has given the U.S. an excuse to appear in the Persian Gulf. What would be the reaction of the Islamic Republic if the West decides to continue its adventures and create some sort of crisis in the Persian Gulf?

Answer: The war between Iran and Iraq has been imposed on us by Iraq and we know that this country has been stimulated by the enemies of our country to take such a foolish action. The enemies of the Islamic Revolution were hoping that Iraq would be able to weaken the pillars of the Islamic Republic of Iran by taking such action. Of course, the United States was one of the countries who stimulated and forced Iraq to initiate adventurism.

With regard to the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz, we condemn the presence of any foreign force in this part of the world and considered it as an obvious violation of the rights of the countries who are located along the coasts of the Persian Gulf. Iran, as the power of the zone who owns the largest section of the coastal area of the Persian Gulf, has an important role to play as the caretaker of the safety of the Persian Gulf. We insist that the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz, that is, the international waters, should remain safe and we are completely against any initiation of adventurism from the great powers and their agents in the area.

Question: Even though the president and the representative of the imam in the Supreme Defense Council have openly announced that Iran will export its oils from the Strait of Hormuz for as long as it can, will not close it until it is forced to and will continue guarding it, we are still hearing the loudspeakers of the world propaganda acting as if the Strait of Hormuz is on the verge of closure and they are looking for methods to deal with such action. What do you think about this?



Answer: With regard to this question, I should say that the powers are trying to convert the war situation to other angles in order to save Saddam. And it is also to the benefit of Saddam to bring the powers into the action and let them interfere in the war, hoping that they would be able to save Iraq from this situation. At this point I should point out that, as the imam of Ummah said and all the evidences shows, Saddam will not be able to stay. We will not close the Strait of Hormuz as long as we can export our oil from this area and as long as our true economic and vital interests are not endangered. But we will not remain faithful to this statement if our vital interests are violated. If this happens, in spite of all the propaganda to the contrary, the closure of the strait will be an easy task.

Question: How do you analyze the entrance of the American and British warships in the Persian Gulf and what will be the reaction of the Islamic Republic to such action? What is your advice to the Persian Gulf countries about the adventurous propaganda of the United States?

Answer: The entrance of the warships of the United States and England into the Persian Gulf comes from the ruling nature that they both possess. Of course, England has more experience than the United States, but both are considered along almost the same lines. One is the heir of the other in ruling the world. We believe that they know better than to interfere in happenings of Persian Gulf or to attack Iran. This will only happen if the rulers of both of these countries lose their minds. Since the experience of the Islamic Revolution 5 years ago, it has been clear that this nation and rule will not give in to any force, no matter what the political or other considerations may be. This nation, this government, and in general, this regime, will not bow to any foreign pressures. They do not have the power to resist us in the area and in our land. The reason is that our people are armed with the armor of faith and none of our enemies has this advantage. After analyzing the situation, we believe that they want a psychological war against the Islamic Republic of Iran and want to reassure their followers and agents in the area by just being present in the area. Anyway, our people are completely willing and ready to fight for their rights.

Question: The officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran have continuously announced that Iran is willing to have good relations with the Persian Gulf countries. But some of these countries still help Iraq, either with military aid, economic aid, or by propaganda. What do you think about this?

Answer: As you said, Iran is willing to have good relations with its neighbors, especially the Persian Gulf countries. Iran has good relations with some of these countries and we have already told them not to attach their future to Saddam's future. This advice is given because the rule of Saddam is like a torn rope that is going to be completely cut forever. Today, tomorrow, or one of these days not too far away, the Ba'thist Zionist regime of Iraq will fall.

CSO: 4640/182

# IRANIAN JOURNALIST REPORTS ON KGB CONTACTS WITH CLERGY

Paris LE MONDE in French 12 Mar 84 p 4

[Text] Former Tudeh communists [Iranian Communist Party] and PDAI [Iranian Azerbaijan Democratic Party] members in exile in the West are talking and writing. An Iranian journalist has gathered some of these eye-witness accounts, which reveal that Yuriy Andropov and the KGB were very interested in Teheran.

The history of Soviet-Iranian relations is long and complicated. Three consecutive failed attempts by the Iranian Communist Party [Tudeh] to gain power forced 60,000 militants to immigrate to the USSR. First, 15,000 fled Iranian Azerbaijan after December 1947 to Soviet Azerbaijan, to escape the armies sent by Teheran. Then, another group left after a failed assassination attempt against the Shah in 1959, when the Tudeh was outlawed by the Iranian Parliament. Finally, after Mossadegh's fall in August of 1953, over 20,000 Iranians sought refuge in the USSR.

Party leaders--especially members of the Central Committee--were "retrained" in the Soviet Union or in some Eastern country to be "operational" immediately upon their return to Iran. Andropov, who later became--briefly--the USSR's leader, played an important role as early as 1958 in organizing Iranian emigrants from the Tudeh and the PDAI. The latter tried 37 years ago to found an autonomous republic which would join the other Soviet republics.

It was Geydar Aliyev, closely involved in this attempt, who provoked Andropov's interest in Iranian affairs. The future Secretary General, who was born in northern Ossetia, may even have spoken Farsi which is still used in that region. When he was in charge of relations with other communist parties for the Central Committee, he created in 1959 a radio station that operated from Sofia and broadcast Iranian communist propaganda in several languages spoken in Iran. He also entrusted Colonel Khadzhiyev, first secretary of the Soviet embassy in Belgium, with controlling the orthodoxy of their ideology.

## The "Andropov-Aliyev Team"

The activities of Andropov and Aliyev are described by a former officer of the Shah's army, Ghalian, a political refugee who spent 25 years in the USSR: "Andropov created other underground radio stations broadcasting in Persian,

Azari and Kurdish among them the National Channel, located in Moscow and managed then by Mizani, who in 1983 was arrested in Teheran with several members of the Tudeh." The future leader of the Kremlin controlled communist publications such as MARDOM [PEOPLE], which was the central organ of the Tudeh, and the AZERBAIJAN JOURNAL, which is still published regularly today.

At that time Moscow was already strongly committed to training leaders for a communist Iran. Between 1958 and 1964, Andropov and Aliev sent many of them abroad, first to China and Cuba, then to Syria, Lebanon and Libya, to complete their training. This job was ideal for Aliev, who was originally an Iranian born in Nakhajavan in 1923 to a Shiite family. He spoke Farsi, Turkish and Arabic and started his career in the KGB as a second lieutenant from 1941 to 1946. He controlled the separatist movement of the PDAI in Tabriz and then helped endangered militants flee to the Soviet Union. He thus became the necessary intermediary between the two Iranian parties and the Soviet Central Committee.

In 1967, when Yuriy Andropov became head of the KGB, he placed Aliev in charge of organizing the Soviet Azerbaijan republic. Aliev and his boss then played a major role in choosing the Tudeh's Central Committee members. The General Secretary at the time was Radmancsh, according to Dr Jahanshahlu, former PDAI Deputy Secretary General was "moderate and intractable."<sup>1</sup> He was easily pushed out and replaced by "a quiet old aristocrat," Prince Qajar Eskandari.<sup>2</sup> He was in fact a transparent smokescreen, poorly concealing the KGB's trusted men Kambakhsh and Kianuri.

The latter, the General Secretary who fell victim to the Imam's repression, was well-known. Kambakhsh died in 1977 and is less well remembered. He was trained from childhood in the USSR and at 25 years of age became a pilot with the rank of lieutenant, which caused the Iranians to consider him a spy when he served in Iran's air force. These suspicions were well founded, according to a witness at the time who credited Kambakhsh with having "solid relations with the KGB."<sup>3</sup> Dr Jahanshahlu is even more explicit: "During the attempt to create an autonomous republic, he wore his Soviet uniform and was on intimate terms with the Soviet ambassador and officers in Teheran."<sup>4</sup>

Kianuri, Kambakhsh's brother-in-law, also enjoyed a privileged relationship with the Soviets since the 1940s. Moscow's two "sure men" in Iran were supported in the Central Committee by Tabari, Mizani and Ghodve, and formed "a solid majority connected to the KGB."<sup>5</sup>

#### "Our Ayatollahs"

Through PDAI, which it now controlled, the KGB Tried to contact an opponent of the Shah whose prodigious fate nobody could guess at the time. The Ayatollah Khomeyni was then living in the holy Iraqi town of Najaf. PDAI officer, General Panahian, was directed by Aliev to contact Khomeyni through General Timur Bakhtiar. Bakhtiar, a former SAVAK chief, was now an opponent of the Shah's regime and was also living in Iraq. He knew Khomeyni well.<sup>6</sup> The mission was accomplished and the Tudeh was the first in Leipzig to publish Khomeyni's inflammatory writings against the imperial regime. But SAVAK

agents assassinated Bakhtiar. The Ayatollah Khoemiha replaced him. At the time, the current Vice President of the Iranian Parliament made many trips between Najaf and Leipzig.

Moreover, according to the same source, another religious figure, and Khomeyni's secretary, the Hojjal ol-Eslam Dosa'i, dealt with several Iranian KGB agents and was entrusted with Andropov's agreement in 1974 with managing responsibility for the Persian section of Radio-Baghdad. Today, he directs the large Iranian daily newspaper ETTELA'AT.

In fact, the KGB's advances toward the Shiite clergy are not new. One of the first agents of the GPU (the predecessor organization of the KGB) in Iran from 1926 to 1928 was Georgiy Sergeyevich Agavekev, who defected to France a year later. On 26-30 October 1930 he told the daily LE MATIN how he operated: "Our agent in Qum spoke Farsi as well as a native of the holy city. He was received by the mullahs and we were thus informed of the efforts of our British colleagues, which were quite successful, as a matter of fact. Now, we also have our ayatollahs." It is a fact that Aliev, who was familiar with Iran's life, knew the importance of the Shiite clergy. He had brought Baku's (Soviet Azerbaijan) "Friday Imam" to Tabriz to rally the clergy to his cause. The Imam was an excellent orator and converted some theology students to the PDAI philosophy. Tabriz's residents named him the "Red Imam" not only for his political convictions but also for his rubicund complexion, in which they saw an inclination to drinking.<sup>7</sup> During the Iranian revolution, the Soviets installed Kianuri to head the Tudeh because he was the grandson of Ayatollah Nuri, who held Khomeyni's esteem.

If one believes the former secretary of the Tudeh, Radmaneche, who died recently in East Germany, Yuriy Andropov controlled the party directly through Kianuri from 1978 onward. Kianuri's nomination angered many members of the Central Committee who left the Party as a result. Today, they are talking about the hidden side of their long years in exile.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Nous les Etrangers" (We, the Foreigners) by Dr Jahanshahlu, M.D., and former PDAI Deputy Secretary, published in West Germany in 1982, p 218.
2. Same as above, p 289
3. Dr Keshavarz, "J'accuse" (I accuse), 1979, Geneva.
4. Same as 1., p 310
5. Dr Keschavarz, same as 3., p 28
6. Ghazian, in KAVEH, Fall 1983, Munich, p 52.
7. REVUE PERSANNE, magazine of the FLI (expansion unknown), 12 January 1983.

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CSO: 4619/30

IRANIAN DAILY COMMENTS ON SUPERPOWER PROPAGANDA

GF252000 Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 1 Mar 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Superpowers Publicity Ploy to Undermine Iran's Victory"--by M. J. Sahlani]

[Text] The world of Western politics has made U.S. President Ronald Reagan promote the idea that the new Iranian offensive might lead to closure of the strategic Hormuz Strait and seriously endanger Western interest, at stake in the region. Washington has under that light warned of an American intervention to ward off dangers it publicizes.

The Eastern superpower rumors through Soviet organ PRAVDA the notion that Western countries entertain plans to launch a military invasion against Iran under the pretext of "a possible Soviet attack on Iran."

These imagined ideas and deliberate designs made in advance to later jeopardize Iranian victories, have made them move the naval units and ground forces in the direction of the Persian Gulf region.

Obviously, the superpowers follow a twin goal of blocking the brilliant spiritual and political advances of Islamic warriors. However, Iran had destroyed in the past the U.S. influence in the country and has also smashed the Soviet subversion plans recently trying and executing the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party members. Our response against the recent U.S.-USSR plot is: "Defeated villains stand no chance of staging a comeback."

Our success has already pierced through the heavy wall of distortions of anti-Islamic press networks: a triumph of seekers of truth over falsehood of forces who carry diplomatic and military weapons.

Recent assault of the troops of righteousness in the battlefields of war to introduce Islamic laws in the two Muslim countries of Iran and Iraq, locked into a 3-1/2 year old war, has sharply magnified a feeling of insecurity and heightened vulnerability of international oppressors running the two major camps in the world.

The situation has inevitably led to negation of the superpowers' former claims, plus disclosure of their distorted news coverage. The news satellites and radio

broadcasts are now frantically relaying the latest superpower strategy through a series of contradictory statements arising out of their panic at recent defeats in Iran and Lebanon.

It is evident that the rushed comments and confused expressions and actions of the superpowers depict no sound logic other than repeating and intensifying their hollow claims and misleading warnings. It shall have no positive results except a display of further attempts by the big powers to conceal humiliating defeats suffered at the hands of Iranian fighters in the imposed war.

Iran, led by its Islamic approach and the great leadership of Imam Khomeyni, is fully capable of pulling down the false masks and exhibiting the real, conceited face of the superpowers and their treachery against nations.

The country shall yet continue to reveal those facts to down-trodden masses everywhere and convey a real picture of that power crazy and dehumanizing world. Our leaders shall also steadfastly pursue the process of awakening the nations to rebel against tyranny in any form, size and shape in the four corners of the world.

By the Grace of God, a good part of that mission has been effective in a substantial way. It assisted the nations to develop a sharper sense of their responsibilities. The impact has considerably drawn the Muslim-populated regions out of their deep slumber.

The ensuing consequences of this positive Iranian initiative have been more pronounced and evident in the victorious emergence of deprived Lebanese nation in recent times. Though plagued with an acute lack of combat power in militaristic terms Lebanon, equipped with the invincible power of faith, succeeded in dealing death blows upon foreign invaders and indisputably shot to pieces the carefully built up false image of conspiratorial world media.

Inspired by the living example of Iran, the Lebanese have also proved that it is possible to fight and win battles despite absence of sufficient military resources and that it was not beyond the power of faith to shatter the myth of invincibility of the powerful Eastern and Western plunderers who support the usurper Israel.

Lebanon has effectively stood up against domination of intervening American, UK, French and Italian armed troops deployed to assist Israel and mercenary Phalange terrorists in intimidating the Lebanese nation.

The victories which led to the disgrace of George Schultz and expulsion of his predecessor Alexander Haig from the political arena were interconnected and coupled with alarmed expressions of the French Socialists and Zionists of Israel, as well as to a catapulting awareness of political impotency that has gripped Lebanon's Amin al-Jumayyil and his foreign masters.

Israel, housing three million Jews on Arab lands, has drastically failed in its objective to bluff its way through the imagination of many a people in convincing that it was possible to win wars through sheer materialistic and military might. The Zionist state has undoubtedly failed in all its efforts to suppress growing rebellion of the nations as sophisticated armaments cannot defeat the will of the nations.

On the other hand, the Lebanese Muslims have proved their strengths of spirituality, as conveyed by Muslims of Iran, that they had that disarming superior power of faith which keep frustrating all conspiring multi-national foreign forces in the Persian Gulf region.

The triumph of faith over weapons as revealed by the fight of Lebanese in recent days promptly led Ronald Reagan to reassert that "attacks on Schultz and on U.S. policy in Lebanon are shameful.

The foreign minister of the ruling French socialists regime has also expressed the view that "French forces in Lebanon are staying in Beirut to honor a mutual French-Lebanese agreement."

The head of foreign and defense affairs committee of the Israeli Parliament was another official who said: "We are in contact with all "lebanese and willing to talk with all Arab leaders."

Those statements indicate the desperation of the so-called advocates of "human rights" at the defeat and ineffectiveness of their deadly military weapons now trying somehow to justify in one way or the other the continued failure of their policies.

The lowers of truth and justice in the world will appreciate that all efforts of down-trodden Muslim nations, including Iran and Lebanon, are directed at restoring a real and permanent peace in full consideration of all humane and noble criteria.

Those who are yet unaware of the true picture of events, will in due course realize that all battles being fought by Iran and Lebanon are in defense of their legitimate rights.

An Iraqi commander has said in an interview with foreign reporters that "Iraq maintains up to 7 kilometers of area deep into the Iranian territory." Is it then sensible to question why Iran does not surrender to the compromising solutions while it is fighting to recapture its legitimate rights from the invader?

The Israeli official earlier referred to has observed: "The West has basic interests in Lebanon and if it loses Lebanon, that will also mean loss of Western interests and Israel shall have no other alternative but to continue its presence in South Lebanon." Is it then reasonable to introduce the Muslim defenders as "suicidal terrorists"?

Should the world distort the fight against oppression of these foreign-installed governments, then what shall be the criteria to restore justice and recapture violated rights? What shall, then, be the scale of judgment to stop or continue the war against tyranny?

From any angle one looks at it, the criteria upon which the struggle of Iran, Lebanon and other Islamic or deprived nations appears fully legitimate, just and logical is to maintain a permanent peace and a just rule, when compared

against the above stated beliefs of hired hands who want to force and impose themselves on oppressed nations on gunpoint.

Under the circumstances, it is natural that losses of lives and material damages are incurred through such confrontations and equally reasonable is the undeniable reality that responsibility of the havoc and destruction entirely lies on the bludgeoning policies of dictators, who seek domination at the cost of a free existence and independence of other nations.

The truth seekers of the world should challenge the totalitarian system and by their rash moves and irrational spirit of dominance and further cultivate a sense of fair judgment to understand the raging battles of justice against tyranny.

Such a framework shall help the lovers of justice properly classify and distinguish each showdown for the values it really represents. That outlook, we believe, shall lead to a better judgment to view the concepts of the right and the wrong under a better criteria than the prevailing one.

At any rate, the Islamic Republic of Iran has practically demonstrated the path leading to justice and liberation from oppressive domination. The justice seekers are now charged with the heavy responsibility of participating in and advancing the humane concepts with all their might. And the Muslims shall support the Islamic revolution in fulfilling the higher values for salvation of humanity at large.

CSO: 4600/468



# GROUND FORCES COMMANDER INTERVIEWED ON IRAN-IRAQ WAR

Capetown MUSLIM NEWS in English 9 Mar 84 pp 13, 17

["Exclusive" interview with Colonel Sayed Shirazi, commander of Iranian Ground Forces]

[Text]

'In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful

Peace be upon the souls of the martyrs of the Islamic Revolution, and salutations to the seal of Prophethood, Nabi Muhammad (SAW), and to Imam Khomeini, the hope of all the oppressed in the world.

'Our revolution is not only a revolution limited to Iran. It belongs to all the oppressed of the world.

Q: How is the co-operation between the army and the Revolutionary Guards (Sepah Pasdaran)?

A: There has been an evolution in the way we conduct the war here in Iran. Before, all the wars used to be for the protection of the country and usually it was a war in the hands of the superpowers. But this war is in the way of Allah; and when people are fighting in the way of Allah it is very easy to command an army. All the soldiers, as well as having an external control over them (the commanders), have an internal control as well (Imaan), and they all know what to do; they all know what the objective is. Therefore, there is complete co-operation between the army, the Revolutionary Guards and the mujahideen from other organisations.

What will happen if the Iraqi regime fulfills its threat of attacking the Iranian cities? (Since this interview the threats have been carried out).

The only difference is that previously the Iraqis use to carry out the bombardment and missile attacks on our cities before making a threat. Now they are actually informing us before they commit their criminal acts. We act in accordance with the commands of the Islamic Republic of Iran and all the forces of the Islamic

Republic are ready to give the answer to any kind of attack which may possibly be launched. As you know, we have had a 3-year war against an enemy which has violated our territory. At the beginning we were taken by surprise and for some time we did not make any progress on the fronts. But after the victory at Abadan and after we broke the siege at Khorramshahr, we had a series of operations called Muhammed (PBUH), Fath-al Mobeen, Baitul Muquddas, Ramadaan, Al Fajr. In all these operations we have gained victory and we have liberated 10711 square kilometres that was in the hands of the Iraqis. There is not much land left in the hands of the enemy but what we have to say is that our objective is not only to liberate these territories. We have more than two million refugees and our cities have been ruined by the enemy. The hundreds of thousands of mujahideen will continue their fight against the enemy according to the principles of the Islamic Republic. This war is a sacred war for us and we should continue it with the hope of final victory, Insha-Allah.

Has Iran a war pact with any country?

We have no dependence on any power whatsoever. We only depend on the power of Allah. Now that five

years have passed since the Revolution, and after all the conspiracies and the economic blockades, there is living proof that Iran depends on no power and the only strategic army it has is the faith of its own people.

**Does Iran intend to set up its own weapons industry and thus save on foreign imports?**

The government which really wants true independence must apply this policy of self-sufficiency to the military field and military industry too. And this is exactly what we have done and we proclaim that we have no money to pay for the military industries in other countries.

**Why does Iran not end the war according to the proposals of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (held in Morocco recently)?**

First of all, we have to talk about the nature of this Islamic conference. We, the Muslim people, do not accept this conference and we think it is a plan of the Great Satan, the US. If the intention of this conference was to end the war, why did they not talk about the Iraqi violation of Iranian territory? Why did they not try to find out why Iraq did not attack Iran during the time of the Shah? We've got the answer to this! The Iraqi attack was part of a tactical move against the Islamic Revolution in order to make the heroic Muslim nation of Islam repent having made a revolution in the first place.

**During a major part of the war Iran has been fighting from land and Iraq from the air. In this way, is it possible for Iran to get a favourable result?**

This question is specifically a military tactical question. The decisive factor in the classical fight is to reach the target on the ground. The ground forces of the army have the objective of reaching this target and the role that the air force plays in this is to help protect the ground force. And the ground forces of Iraq are not on a level which can be compared to our ground forces. What we really think will decide the future of the war is the faith of the combatants of Islam, and this can be seen on their faces. The enemy we are fighting has the forces of Satan and we have the forces of faith and I believe the future will give the answer to your question. **What could be the military effects of the diplomatic approach between Washington and Baghdad?**

We know that the attack made by Iraq on the territory of the Islamic Republic was not done on its own but that it was done in the interests of the superpowers. These approaches have made it clear who really governs Iraq, ie it is in the hands of the superpowers.

**How is the Islamic Republic coping with spare parts for arms that were supplied by the US during the time of the Shah?**

What was left over from the time of the past regime is used by Iranian technicians to reproduce similar models. There may be a reduction in the number of these arms, but according to a verse of the Holy Qur'an: We are ready to use all the possibilities we have to do our work and to reach self-sufficiency. But where we have some lack we are sure that Allah will help us. And as the industries of the country are moving towards self-sufficiency this trend (to manufacture arms) has been given

more pace by the revolution. We hope that we will overcome all problems in this field in the future, Insha-Allah.

**Are there any Iraqi deserters fighting on the side of Iran?**

One of the most important achievements of the Islamic Republic in its five-year history has been the organisation of those Iraqi combatants who are against the Iraqi regime. What they lacked was organisation and unity and they couldn't fight the way the Muslim nation of Iran had because the keys to the victory of the Iranian Islamic Revolution, after the role played by leadership, was unity. At the moment some Iraqi combatants are fighting shoulder to shoulder with their Iranian Muslim brothers against the Iraqi enemy and we hope that in future it shall be the whole nation of Iraq.

**We know that the Iranian Army was formed by Americans. Do you think that the Army has been thoroughly purged and is there no danger from the military to the present government?**

We must emphasise that the army was not formed by the past regime. Its arms and organisation were provided by the US and their specialists. But on the whole it is a popular army, and not only has it no dangers for the Islamic Republic of Iran but we can say that it is very effective in attaining the objectives of the Islamic Republic. At

the time of the victory of the Islamic Revolution it was clear that the US and the past regime thought that the army was going to back the puppets. But within 48 hours the army left its garrisons (you could call it their prisons), and joined the people and this proved that the army is part of the people. We have had three years of the imposed war and one and a half years of the war against the counter-revolutionaries. We've had many martyrs and the army has proved during these three years that it is the arm of the Islamic Republic. If you go to the war fronts you can see and witness with your own eyes the role played by the army in supporting the revolution and the Islamic Republic.

How and for how long is Iran able to close the Straits of Hormuz if Iraq materializes its threats and has Iran calculated the political and military risks of closing the Straits?

The threats we make is only to confront the threats our enemies make to us. We never made any threats to any other countries and the actions we take in future depend solely on the kind of threat the Iraqis make. We do not want to close the Straits of Hormuz as has been suggested before, unless we have to. From the point of view of risks, there is no risk for us. The risk lies with our enemies since it is they who will suffer the results of this action (closure of the Straits). And we have to add that the older people of this country will fight to the last drop of their blood because they cannot return to oppression and lose their liberty and independence at any price. Therefore, the US threats are no risk for us.

It is said in the West that the Iranian army has adopted Kamikaze-type suicide tactics for the sake of Islam.

This comparison between the combatants of Islam and the Japanese kamikaze is made because the West has never seen such tactics before in their history, and since they can't compare it with anything else they've compared it with the kamikazes of Japan. The combatants of Islam don't commit suicide. Their sacrifice is based on faith. This faith

causes them to go to war for an objective and they forget the thought of death. I don't think one should call this method suicide because they go to the warfronts and fight believing they may get victory and at the same time they may get killed and become martyrs. It is said in the Qur'an: whether you kill in the path of Allah and remain alive or whether you get killed in the path of Allah and become a martyr you are victorious. So the combatants of Islam will never have a deadclock in front of them since they are always prepared to become martyrs.

We hope that the war will come to an end with a victory for Islam but in case it continues for some time, will Iran be ready for peaceful negotiations with Iraq without specified conditions?

Allah has promised the combatants of Islam that victory shall be theirs. That we firmly believe. I join you in praying for the victory of Islam and all the oppressed people in the world. To think that because the war will continue for some time we shall accept, without any conditions, negotiations with Iraq is to believe that our faith depends on time.

In conclusion, I hope you will convey this message, from a simple soldier of Islam, to the people of the world. It is a fairly simple message: We hope that all the intellectuals in the foreign countries who believe that science should be at the service of humanity will really put this into practice and that they shall work so that science shall not be for world oppression and world colonialism.

I hope that all the countries in the world will follow the model put forward by the Islamic Republic of Iran, since what we have been saying over the years is that we want to be independent and that no country has got the right to violate us. Our fight is against oppression and is not against any special nationality or special race. What we want is that our resources should not be robbed by other countries and we hope we shall fight for victory till the last drop of our blood.

'Help from Allah and a speedy victory.'

COMMENTS ON MAJNUN ISLANDS AS WAR REPARATIONS

GF011304 Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 6 Mar 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Tactical Remarks"]

[Text] Statements by Hojjat ol-Eslam Rafsanjani on Sunday, regarding the Majnun Islands of Iraq, constitute a shrewd political reply aimed at global circles which are reluctant to accept the facts regarding Iran's recent victories during Khaybar military operations.

Responding to questions on whether Iran's previous conditions for ending the war had changed with its capture of Iraq's Majnun Islands--which could be tallied to the account of war compensation--Hojjat ol-Eslam Rafsanjani said: "Of course if they consider these islands as war compensation for us, and a step toward getting our rights, we may accept it." However, if the issue is seriously put forth, then we should first consult Imam Khomeyni, the Majlis (parliament), the president and the prime minister; and the final decision rests with them. Nevertheless, Saddam Husayn's trial remains an unchanged condition--that is, he should be put on trial for his war crimes.

Global imperialism and its new media have since the beginning of the Khaybar operations reacted according to their own interests. They have tried to understate and even ignore Iran's recent strategic victories. In this regard Imam Khomeyni has said: "Whenever our enemies intensify their propaganda against Iran, it becomes clear that the magnitude of our victories in the war, has increased."

The imperialist news media have said that since the warring countries do not allow "neutral" reporters to cover the war, it is difficult to prove any claims. However, it appears that the global news media have forgotten that during the entire course of the war and even with their reporters on the scene, where Iranian victories have been concerned, they have followed these same tactics. Somehow, it seems that it has been difficult for the imperialist news media to evaluate the truth of the warring countries' claims.

Neutrality calls for serious analysis and evaluation of the claims of Iran and Iraq. However, it seems that the imperialist news media are not sincere and true to their claims of neutral stances. It goes without saying that they do not want to witness Iraq's defeat in the imposed war against the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Considering global reactions to Iran's recent victories as well as the lack of an extensive publicity network able to relay Iran's next moves to the world, it seems that Hojjat ol-Eslam Rafsanjani's recent statement on the Majnun Islands, could be tactical.

When the capture of Majnun Islands can be linked to Iran's conditions for ending the war, relaying the magnitude of the victory somehow is no longer a difficult task for the imperialist news media. This is why, the imperialist news media can no more overlook Iran's victories. Moreover, when the value of the oil reserves in the captured Majnun Islands is estimated to be around 240 billion dollars, then the Ba'athist regime of Iraq and its imperialist overlords cannot ignore Iran's recent victories.

Of course, it is possible that this tactic as it relates to the original statements of Iranian administrative officials, may have domestic consequences. However, it should be stressed the statements of Hojjat ol-Eslam Rafsanjani should not be analyzed and evaluated outside the basic strategic framework of the Islamic fighters. Because, according to Rafsanjani, Saddam's reign should not be allowed to continue any further because of his innumerable and dastardly war crimes, which have included missile attacks on Iran's cities, use of chemical bombs, etc.

It does not seem that the issue of war compensation for Iran through the potentially oil rich Majnun Islands, under the present conditions would alter the trend of the imposed war. However, the West will be finding it more difficult to project Iran as a warmonger. Thus, if the Ba'athist regime, and its imperialist overlords and regional supporters ignore Hojjat ol-Eslam Rafsanjani's recent statements the hypocrisy of the West's claimed desire for an end to Iran-Iraq war, will become obvious. However, if they consider Hojjat ol-Eslam Rafsanjani's statements and forward new proposals, then Iran will insist on its third condition, that is, Saddam's trial.

And it is clear that if the supporters of the Ba'athist regime of Iraq accept Saddam's trial, the collapse of the Ba'athist regime of Iraq will be its most fundamental result. But if Iran's third condition is ignored by Saddam's supporters, the course of war will not change at all. Because, Iran was able to impose its first condition during the course of the 40-month old war--that is, it chased the aggressor out from its territory. Also by capturing the Majnun Islands, Iran gained its second condition. And the fulfillment of the third condition, that is Saddam's trial, is not difficult. It is clear, however, that the fulfillment of Iran's third condition will be achieved in the battlefield. And this is something which the Islamic forces of Iran have prepared the groundwork for--Saddam's trial in the battlefield. And verily, it is God's will that the wronged and oppressed masses should triumph.

CSO: 4600/472

PAPER DENOUNCES FOREIGN MEDIA OVER CHEMICAL BOMBS

GF251810 Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 5 Mar 84 p 2

[Editorial: Imperialist Media Underplays Chemical Bombings by Iraq]

[Text] On the verge of a crushing defeat in the Khaybar operational region on Monday, 27 February, the Iraqi forces once again resorted to chemical explosives, which use has been banned by international law.

Some 1,000 Iranians have suffered severe after-effects of the chemical explosives and some were transferred to hospitals in various cities.

A group of foreign reporters visited a number of the wounded combatants in Tehran hospitals today and made reports and took photographs. A number of international organizations, including the International Red Cross, have also been invited to see the victims of the Iraqi crime.

Meanwhile, despite clear and undeniable evidence about Iraqi use of chemical bombs, which in the past Iranian operations, resulted in the launching by Iraq of such attacks upon a large number of civilians who suffered injuries as a result in rural areas, news media networks of the arrogant countries of the world have reacted heedlessly to these crimes and have not shown any inclination to expose such an important event. The most they have done is to report the news as a "Iranian claim" in between their news reports on the war.

Meanwhile the loudspeakers of the great satan, the voice of America, quoted U.S. State Department spokesman in its Persian news service at 21:30 (Tehran local time) last week as saying that "the United States could not confirm Iran's allegations of the Iraqi use of chemical weapons: in the war.

Although the use of the term "claim" is not surprising due to the unabated and official support of Washington for the Iraqi regime, nevertheless the fact that such Western news media still insist on their foolish claims of news independence while they overlook proof of Iraq's atrocious use of chemical bombs, is something that should create serious doubts about their news reporting among world public opinion.

The same news networks, which even try to build a propaganda story of a fight between two Iranian married couples, coolly slight such important events by a simple mentioning of the Iraqi chemical bombings as a "claim made by Iran."

Of course, if one takes notice of this very important point that the source of Iraq's chemical weapons is from Britain, one might find an answer for this issue, after all, confirmation of the Iraqi use of such explosives by the West would automatically bring condemnation as to their source.

The British monarchical regime, however, is feigning ignorance of the whole issue to prevent a major disgrace in the international scene.

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) recently said that the Iraqi chemical bombs are produced in Iraq itself. But on 8 January, the discovery of bottles containing poisonous chemical by the French police in the Normandy coast received wide press coverage. Reports said the bottles originated from an Iraqi ship called Ibn-e Khaldun which carried them from the port of Liverpool in Britain on its way to Kuwait.

French police said the chemical could burn human skin and was poisonous. Reports also said the chemicals are used in the production of chemical bombs and they had been supplied to Iraq by Britain.

On the other hand, a comparison of the effects of chemical explosives on victims in Iran shows that the chemicals had the same effects mentioned in the above mentioned reports.

CSO: 4600/469

IRANIAN DAILY ON LESSONS TO BE LEARNED FROM REVOLUTION

GF011316 Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 5 Mar 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Vital Experience in a War of Resistance"]

[Text] In the course of the 42-month-old war, the Islamic Revolution of Iran has gained many experiences. Had the enemies of the revolution been aware of the gains and repercussions of such experiences, perhaps they would never have dared impose the war on Iran in such an ostentatious manner. This is because, the experiences of the young and dynamic Iranian Revolution have served to embolden the oppressed masses of the world so as to heighten their struggles against imperialism. Of the many experiences taken during the imposed war, two stand out as prominent. The first experience rises out of the Muslim and Islamic forces' independent resistance in the imposed war.

Until now, resistance by the world's revolutionary masses was deemed impossible without the support of either of the big powers. However, the resistance staged by Muslim Iranians in the imposed war, has changed this conception. If the Iraqi war had taken place against a non-Islamic country, its leaders undoubtedly would have attached more importance to preserving the revolution than thwarting the enemy's aggression.

There have been repeated instances of this during the last fifty years, among them the October Revolution in Russia, the Vietnamese Revolution and the Palestinian Revolution. Iran also underwent such an experience during the early days of the imposed war. Abolhasan Bani-Sadr, the then president of Iran, considered the evacuation of Dezful and other cities in the south necessary for the protection of other Iranian towns.

However, the people's [word indistinct] led by Imam Khomeyni blocked the materialization of such a scheme. And due to their awareness and participation in the war, a new chapter opened in the oppressed people's struggles against global imperialism and its stooges. This new experience is considered dynamic because it changed the goal of the oppressed peoples--that is thwarting the aggression--to that of obliterating the aggressor. And it was exactly the brave and dauntless resistance of the Islamic forces of Iran that forced its enemies to reckon with the implications of an independent revolution and its protracted struggles.



The same resistance also forced the enemies of the Islamic Revolution to form a united front against it. Moreover, it was due to this independent resistance that Imam Khomeyni said during the early days of war: "We will strike Saddam with such a knock-out blow that he won't be able to get up."

And if the world's oppressed peoples take note of the rich and dynamic experiences of the Islamic Revolution, undoubtedly, it will enable them to safeguard their societies and revolutions against the imperialists and counterrevolutionaries, and also to destroy as well, the bases of imperialism. The experience of resistance in the war is one of the major achievements of this imposed war.

The second experience, in the course of the war in fact stems from the first and is vital for our society. This experience stems from the dedicated and dauntless resistance of the Islamic forces and has been death on deviationary and weak inclinations. Had the masses not come out and participated against the imperialist war against the Islamic Revolution, then no telling what would have been the fate of the revolution. However, the people's active participation thwarted certain stances that threatened to deviate the course of war. Thus, due to the support of the masses, the Islamic Revolution of Iran is able to declare its glory and triumphs to the world.

CSO: 4600/471

NVOI EXAMINES REGIME'S FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

TA031535 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 2 Apr 84

[Unattributed commentary: "Iran at the Outset of the 5th Anniversary of the Islamic Republic"]

[Excerpts] Dear compatriots: One April 1984 is the Islamic Republic of Iran's fifth anniversary. Five years ago the selfless and struggling Iranian people, relying on the slogans and promises of the leaders and officials of the Islamic Republic, and in the hope of fulfilling all the popular and anti-imperialist goals of the revolution, voted to establish the Islamic Republic of Iran. For the first time in the glorious history of our homeland the republic replaced the sinister monarchy, and our homeland's million-strong masses began to consolidate the foundations of the republican system with all their power and might.

All true revolutionary parties and organizations, headed by the Iranian Tudeh Party, took effective steps to expose all the plots of the revolution's enemies, led by world-devouring America, and achieved considerable success in this connection. Leaders and senior figures of the Islamic Republic, in order to maintain the support of our homeland's million-strong toiling masses, led by Iran's working and peasant classes, used to repeat their hollow promises until the beginning of the revolution's 5th anniversary, but in the internal struggles at the upper echelons of the leadership the staunch opponents of Iran's million-strong toiling masses managed to achieve relative success. They totally emptied the revolution of its popular and anti-imperialist content and imposed an anti-people line and a line of rapprochement with imperialism, headed by world-devouring America, on the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Following a 180-degree turnaround, the Islamic regime's irresolute and deceitful leaders and senior figures refrained from keeping the promises that they had made to scores of millions of workers, peasants, tradesmen, civil servants, educators, students and others vis-a-vis the establishment of a society based on justice. By issuing the order to assault the true forces of the revolution, headed by the Iranian Tudeh Party, they publicly adopted the path of treachery against the nation and its revolution.

Today, after 5 years of the Islamic Republic, Iran has been transformed into a prison for all strugglers on the path of independence, freedom and social justice. Landlords and feudalists, supported by the Islamic Republic's high-ranking jurisconsults, led by Ayatollah Golpaygani, have turned into absolute rulers in the

villages. Thanks to the Islamic regime's deceitful and cunning rulers, Iranian workers are being subjected to the most brutal exploitation. According to the new labor law, workers have been deprived of the most elementary union and political rights and freedoms.

The people are burning in the fire of poverty and deprivation; the slightest protest by them against this intolerable situation is answered with imprisonment and bullets. No day passes without the Islamic regime's superficial and monopolist rulers sacrificing hundreds, and sometimes thousands, of patriotic and toiling Iranians, both at the warfronts and in medieval dungeons, for their anti-people, war-mongering and chauvinistic policy. Worse still is that these gentlemen commit all their horrible crimes in the name of God and His government.

Yes, the greatest success of the Islamic Government in these last 5 years is the elimination of freedom and the building and opening of new prisons.

Is not the presence of numerous prisons in our tyranny-stricken homeland, by itself, proof of the regime's illegitimacy and an indication of the heroic resistance by our homeland's true and struggling children against this bloodsucking regime? And is it not proof of the escalation of the people's protest movement against the medieval system of the tricky and despotic rulers governing in our homeland?

The free and selfless Iranian people will never forgive those who have betrayed the nation and its revolution, and will continue their sacred and patriotic struggles until the complete victory of the revolution's popular and anti-imperialist goals.

CSO: 4640/178

## BRIEFS

UN MISSION VISIT IGNORED--Tehran, 27 Mar (IRNA)--As the six-member fact-finding team yesterday presented its documented report to U.N. Secretary-General in proof of Iraq's waging of a chemical warfare against Iran, and as the news has received some coverage in the global media, Persian Gulf radio stations as well as Radio Baku of the Soviet Union are seemingly--and for obvious reasons--brushing aside the news. The Persian Gulf radios which have been blatant supporters of the Baghdad regime and blaring defamatory allegations against the Islamic Republic since the outbreak of the Iraqi imposed war remained totally silent about a recent visit here by a six-man delegation of the United Nations. While the delegation was inspecting areas near battlefronts and population centres earlier hit by chemical bombs there was an entire black-out of this news on the said broadcast stations. In late winter this year many combatants of Islam were flown to hospitals in Europe for treatment of burns and internal disorders caused by chemical and toxic poisoning. While shortly after, blood tests and other examinations on victimized combatants proved their exposure to banned chemical substances. The said radios have totally ignored all these developments. The radios belong to governments which support the Baghdad regime in its war with Iran. [Text] [LD271714 Tehran IRNA in English 1615 GMT 27 Mar 84]

REPORT ON PRINTING EPISODE--The nation-destroying Khomeyni regime in continuing its plunder of the state budget has spent 3 million tumans in printing and distributing 500 copies of the book "Key to Paradise" to guards and mobilized personnel in the warfronts. The money was paid to teachers in the publications organization of Qom seminary. Three million tumans for printing and distributing only 500 copies, means that each copy cost 600,000 rials. In a secret document signed by Engineer Mo'idi, deputy of the Education Ministry, a photocopy of which has been sent to Radio Iran, the accounts department of the Education Ministry explained that the amount of a 3 million tumans should be paid by check to the account of Hojjat ol-Eslam Haji Agha (Rashid) for the printing and distributing of 500 copies of the book. This secret document, No (30-d/62/724) was issued by that office of the Education Ministry on 8 October 1983. [Text] [GF301719 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian 1330 GMT 30 Mar 84]

CSO: 4640/181

PAPER DISCUSSES EMERGENCE OF REGIONAL POWERS

BK181203 Colombo WEEKEND in English 11 Mar 84 p 7

[By Rex De Silva]

[Text] Ms Indira Gandhi is not a person to engage herself in prolonged discussions with visiting foreign dignitaries. Particularly if the talks are held without aides.

The last time she had one of her unusually lengthy discussions was when she met President J. R. Jayewardene during his visit to New Delhi during the Commonwealth Summit. The two leaders had every reason to go into details on bilateral relations and also talk about peace and stability in the region.

Once again Ms Gandhi did deviate from her usual diplomatic style. She reportedly held prolonged discussions on military affairs with visiting Soviet Defence Minister Marshal Dmitriy Ustinov on not less than two occasions. Although they would have used at least half the time for interpretations, the fact remains that they did delve deeply on India's defence against a threat from outside.

According to well-informed sources in New Delhi, the Russians have virtually agreed to underwrite India's defence with heavy induction of arms not second to the arsenals provided by their arch-rival to neighbouring Pakistan. And the two South Asian giants beefed up as they are with modern weaponry have brought the global arms race and the big power rivalry menacingly close to the shores of Lanka.

At the end of the prolonged talkathon between Ms Gandhi and Marshal Ustinov was a mighty package of armaments admittedly provided by the Soviets to take on the rival hardware for the United States which Pakistan had already obtained which the Indians claim was "beyond its legitimate requirements."

The weapons that will now be supplied by the Russians with "a great sense of urgency" will comprise jet fighters missiles, warships, electronic systems and advanced weaponry. Though details of this package deal are still classified, well informed military strategists are convinced that Moscow had agreed to provide New Delhi with the latest model of the MIG and newly developed tanks.

A few years ago, speaking in the Rajya Sabha, Indian Defence Minister R. Venkataraman confirmed his country's desire to obtain improved versions of the MIG though not the powerful MIG-29 which would be far superior to the F-16 and Mirage 2000.

As the Soviets and Indians discussed military hardware half a dozen F-16 Fighter planes arrived in Pakistan from Washington.

If Ustinov had agreed to provide the MIG-29 to meet the challenges of sophisticated jets that Pakistan has, then Islamabad might even try to seek more powerful ones from the states thus aggravating the arms race.

Fortunately both India and Pakistan have not been seeking nuclear weaponry so far. But the more they go for killer weaponry to outsmart each other's arsenals one cannot rule out the entry of nuclear weapons into the fray. Defence Minister Venkataraman was insistent about India's determination to stay with conventional weapons because it enjoys superiority in the power balance with Pakistan.

But according to latest press reports from New Delhi the Defence Minister was rather non-committal on what India would do in case Pakistan develops a nuclear bomb. Since India possesses the capability in this regard one cannot really dismiss the possibility of India having her own bomb in the future.

Ironically the subjects that were discussed by Ustinov and Indian Defence counterparts according to official sources centred on the missiles crisis, dangers of arms race and the need for detente. But in general the talks were held at a highly confidential level. Particularly because of the sensitive arms deals worked out.

The Soviet minister, who had to postpone his visit on the eve of Andropov's death, did not lose any time in coming to India although the Kremlin was still engaged in a process of finalising its hierarchy as well as holding elections. Obviously the Indian visit was vital for both sides.

One of the most significant aspects of the visit was the presence of the Soviet Naval Chief Admiral Sergey Gorshkov in the delegation. Moscow would have had very good reasons to send this whiz-kid military strategist who is believed to have become an admiral at the age of thirty. He had been at the helm of the Russian navy for almost three decades.

His visit with Ustinov and the fact that they brought along several other top rung naval men proves one thing in particular. That the Soviets are becoming very interested in the Indian Ocean, especially with all these rumours, speculation and claims that the Americans have sought naval facilities in South Asia viz in Pakistan, Bangladesh and Lanka. Although these claims have been denied, both India and the Soviet Union are still taking them literally with a pinch of salt. [as published]

Speaking in Parliament, the Indian defence minister stressed that his government will continue to regard the situation as if the U.S. has obtained bases despite those denials.

The Soviet visitors have had an on-the-spot survey of Indian naval facilities including the Russian assisted base in Visakhapatnam and a military factory near Madras.

Something rather relevant to Lanka is that the Indian Government plans to deepen the Palk Straits and enhance its naval defences. The idea behind this project, known as the "Sethu Samundram" is to enable naval units to move from east to west quickly instead of going round Sri Lanka. Lanka should watch this operation with deep interest as it will be very close to our territorial waters.

While India continues to beef itself up with Soviet arms and continues its militarist deals with a superpower, it is rather strange that it deems it right to accuse Lanka of selling out to the Americans every time an American politician happens to stop over in Colombo. Such double-speak in diplomatic affairs is certainly not very conducive to India's nonalignment.

The latest Soviet overtures like helping India revamp its defence strategy had come at a time when the flashpoint of big power rivalry had homed in on the Indian Ocean region. More specifically near the Gulf.

India has not only expressed apprehensions about possible U.S. facilities in Pakistan, Bangladesh and Lanka but it has understandable fears over the construction of air bases by Pakistan. For instance the Gilgit base in Kashmir is believed to be constructed with Chinese assistance.

Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao spoke in Parliament on Friday to reassure the politicians that the U.S. had denied any plans to obtain bases in the neighbouring states including Lanka.

The U.S. denial of course came by way of Howard Schaffer, the assistant secretary of state who visited Lanka and reiterated the same denial.

Schaffer denied to the Indian Government the claims made by certain politicians and media there that the Americans were planning to have facilities in Trincomalee, Chittagong and St Martins Island in Bangladesh and in the Makran coast of Pakistan.

Whether the Indians are truly convinced about the U.S. claim is doubtful, especially in the light of the latest remark by Venkataraman in Parliament. Even Rao was very diplomatic when he said that the Indian Government will continue to watch developments while taking note of the U.S. denials as well as the denials by Bangladesh and Pakistan.

In fact New Delhi will presumably take the issues of foreign bases up at the next Indo-Pakistan talks that are scheduled to be held on 12 May. This is very much a relevant topic that needs clarification as the two rivals deliberate on the much desired "No war" pact.

Then again in June when the Indian foreign office big wigs meet with their Chinese counterparts in June the big power infiltrations in South Asia will be on the agenda.

Right now the xenophobia that India has over the big powers particularly the U.S. in view of its militarist umbilical chord with Pakistan is conceivable. It's unfounded fears about Lanka providing bases to the Americans are a by-product of this reverberating anxiety.

As Ustinov was having a tete a tete with Ms Gandhi on Thursday her Foreign Minister Rao made an impassioned plea in the Lok Sabha to convene the Colombo conference on the Indian Ocean Peace not later than 1985. He said that the UN, the Nonaligned Movement and Indian Ocean States must ensure that the conference is somehow held at least by the middle of next year.

Rao said that his government views the military presence of the great powers in the ocean, with concern as it generates tensions and an arms race that threatened the security of India and the peace and stability of the region. The only way to curb this threat was to hold the Colombo meeting and also ensure the presence of the power who should be asked to remove their military presence from the region.

Sceptics have already sounded reservations on India's own intentions about the conference and the sought after diplomatic cloud to get rid of the big powers.  
[sentence as published]

Now with heavy inductions to its arsenals and expansion of its naval capabilities these observers have become more pronounced in their own anxieties and apprehensions over the emergence of a regional power rivalry that may well be a danger to the small nonaligned nations like Lanka. The growing incidence of destabilisation within the small countries perhaps with outside assistance is something that should not be overlooked in a greater overview of national regional security.

CSO: 4600/466



GOVERNMENT TO SET UP ANTI-RUMOR BUREAU

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 27 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] The Ministry of National Security is to set up an Anti-Rumour Bureau.

This is one of the [word indistinct] decisions taken by the Minister of National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali to combat spreading of rumours which endanger national security.

Under this set-up the Defence Ministry, Information Department, Radio and Press will work in very close liaison and will be able to scotch rumours that could lead to grave incidents.

Under this set-up the radio will be resorted to very much, a spokesman for the Defence Ministry said yesterday.

According to Defence Ministry officials, one of the major constraints operating in taking on Northern terrorists has been the fear of a back-lash to attacks by terrorists in the North.

A significant proportion of the Services are being tied down in the south and if these forces could be moved into the North, patrolling and combing out operations could be carried out with greater intensity sources said.

Minister of National Security Mr Lalith Athulathmudali has pointed out that one of the so called theoreticians of the terrorists had spoken of creating a situation in the south which would aid terrorist activities in the north.

Intelligence sources have noticed that of late, terrorist activities were directed towards creating a situation in the South.

Extremist southern elements working in collusion with terrorists is not ruled out. Last Thursday's panic in Colombo is believed to have been caused by a left-oriented extremist group.

CSO: 4600/463

END